Governance and Management in International Aid Projects: A Case Study

Saleem Sheikh

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Primary Supervisor: Professor Marilyn Waring

Second Supervisor: Dr. Karen Webster

Abstract

The concept of Official Development Assistance (ODA) was put forward to modernise the economies of the underdeveloped countries in the late 1940s through financial and technical assistance. Over the years, its scope has been extended to promote democracy, freedom of speech, and human rights. At the start of this century, ODA was endorsed as an important tool to achieve the objectives of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). With this, issues regarding aid harmonisation and aid effectiveness have taken central stage raising questions about how to improve aid delivery in the presence of old and new multiple donors, multiple recipients and multiple policy objectives. Given this context, this study explores questions of aid harmonization, aid effectiveness and governance in Pakistan. Specifically, this study examines how people in one aid-recipient country, Pakistan, see the issue of aid and governance. In order to investigate these issues, this project focuses on the experiences, perceptions and attitudes of nine primary school teachers who were trained as part of the Educational Sector Reform Assistance (ESRA) project funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

This exploratory research project used the qualitative descriptive approach methodology from the perspective of the postpositive paradigm. Participants were selected through purposive sampling. The data was collected through semi-structured, in-depth interviews. The research design was non-emergent. Thus the data was collected, analysed, and findings were reported in a descriptive fashion.

The results of this study show that while participants recognised benefits of the training they did not see themselves as the owners of it. For them, the training was forced onto them and they did not take any responsibility for implementing what they learned during the training in the absence of a proper monitoring system. This study

found that consultation or a grassroots approach in contrast to a top-down approach

could increase a sense of ownership in the people of aid recipient countries and make

foreign aid projects more successful.

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Working on this dissertation proved to be a long journey. There were times when I was in absolute doubt and could not find any motivation to continue. It was the continuous encouragement, trust, and motivation from my two supervisors: my primary supervisor Professor Marilyn Waring, and my second supervisor Senior Lecturer Karen Webster that made it possible for me to keep moving and finish this research.

I am truly thankful to the participants in this study. They very kindly dedicated their time to sit down with me and share their experiences and insight to make this study a worthwhile endeavour. I would also like to acknowledge the help and support that I received from Dr. Waseem Qazi and Habib Ahmed Khan in contacting and organising interviews with the participants in Pakistan.

It was a challenge to study part-time with full-time work in a different country. It was support and encouragement from my family and friends who continued motivating and pushing me hard to keep going.

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I humbly acknowledge the efforts of all those people mentioned above who played a vital role in the completion of this study.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to all the people who are working selflessly to make a difference in the lives of the people in the developing world.

Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed: ....

Dated: 20 May 2016

Abbreviations

AKU-IED   Agha Khan University - Institute for Educational Development

CSOs   Civil Society Organisations

DAC   Development Assistance Committee

ESRA   Educational Sector Reform Assistance

GATT   General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GOVNET   Governance Network

GNP   Gross National Product

GOP   Government of Pakistan

ILO   International Labour Organisation

IMF   International Monetary Fund

MDGs   Millennium Development Goals

NGOs   Non-Governmental Organisations

ODA   Official Development Assistance

OECD   Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

OEEC   Organisation for European Economic Cooperation

PD   Paris Declaration

PDP   Professional Development Programme

SEATO   Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation

SAPs   Structural Adjustment Programmes

UEI   United Education Initiative

UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
US	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
WGA	World Governance Assessment
WGI	Worldwide Governance Indicators
WWII	World War II

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In terms of governance, we [the people of Pakistan] never know what sort of foreign aid is coming, who is in charge of it or who is giving it out and to whom, or on what grounds they are giving it out, or what their objectives are. No one will tell us.
Participant-0076 [*]

Pakistan and Foreign Aid

Pakistan came into being in 1947 when the Cold War was just starting to heat up. Geographically Pakistan was close to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and had a choice to join either the communist or non-communist bloc, or to stay neutral. Pakistan decided to join the non-communist bloc by signing major security treaties such as the Baghdad Pact and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1955. Subsequently, from 1954 to 1965, the United States of America (US) alone disbursed US $1.3 billion in economic and military aid to Pakistan (Wynbrandt, 2009). During the Afghanistan War from 1979 to 1989, aid disbursement to Pakistan increased markedly due to its geographical proximity and active involvement in the war such that, from 1980 to 1989, Pakistan received over US$6 billion (Kundi, 2007). There was a sharp decline in foreign aid during the1990s, after the end of the Afghanistan War. However, following the terrorist attacks on the US on September 11, 2001, Pakistan once again became a key partner in the US-led War on Terror and foreign aid increased dramatically (Fair, 2009).

Over the years, Pakistan has received billions of dollars of foreign aid and loans for development from various institutions such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Pakistan was the third largest recipient of foreign aid in the world from 1996 to 1998, and was ranked fourth in 2011 (Development Initiatives, 2013). Besides successfully increasing its per capita income, Pakistan has failed to make any notable

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[*] *When I asked a question about foreign aid and governance in this study, one of the respondents made this statement. It sums up a popular perception about foreign aid projects and their management in Pakistan.*

advancement in social and human development. The failure of Pakistan to materialise foreign

aid into development proves that growth does not always result in social development

(Easterly, 2001).

So the question which arises here is why, in last 60 years, has billions of dollars of

foreign aid failed to produce any substantial results? In order to understand the objectives and

mechanisms of this foreign aid, it is important to go through the history of the evolution of

foreign aid, and it is to that history that I now turn.

Evolution of Official Development Assistance (ODA)

Foreign Aid or International Development Aid or Official Development Assistance

(ODA) started at the end of World War II (WWII) to rebuild and ignite economic

development in Europe and Japan (Emmerij, 2002). The US came forward with the Marshall

Plan, to rebuild Europe in 1948. It turned out to be a success economically and politically,

and it enhanced cooperation between Europe and the US (Kunz, 2015). In 1949, President

Truman announced the Point Four programme. This programme declared that foreign aid

from the US would be used to develop the resources and living conditions of underdeveloped

countries (Pronk, 2001).

ODA is considered to be the first systematic approach since 1940 by wealthy nations

to help poor countries through financial and technical assistance (Thérien, 2002). It is now an

integral part of global efforts to deal with issues such as poverty, lack of education, and

health problems in underdeveloped countries. Over the years, the concept and objectives of

ODA have changed. Its focus has been widened to include issues such as democracy,

freedom of speech, and human rights (Emmerij, 2002).

In the 1950s, the purpose of ODA was to support growth-based development through

swift industrialisation. In other words, development was translated in terms of increasing a

country's Gross National Product (GNP) (Thorbecke, 2006). During that decade, a large

number of former colonies became independent and were in a hurry to develop their

economies (Hjertholm & White, 2000). It was also the start of the Cold War, and the world

was in the process of dividing into communist and non-communist blocs. There was an

argument to support foreign aid being used as a means to stop countries joining the

communist bloc by using ODA to assist with development (Kuhnen, 1987). This was because

ODA was used effectively during the European recovery. The Cold War steered the direction

of ODA towards foreign policy objectives, and it became a tool to stop the spread of

communism. For instance, the US restricted its aid to the countries of what it called the Free

World (Thérien, 2002).

Another argument supported ODA being used to assist underdeveloped countries.

From the perspective of development economists, a sufficient level of savings was required

to generate capital in order to start development or industrialisation. The former colonies did

not have that level of savings and, therefore, foreign aid was sought as an alternative that

could provide capital to start development (Oslington, 1993). Furthermore, it was argued that,

in order to start development and industrialisation, a "big push" was required (Kuhnen, 1986).

According to the Big Push Theory, poor countries were in a poverty trap. In order to get out

of that trap they need simultaneous industrialisation in all areas. That could only be achieved

through heavy investment. Thus foreign aid was required to support simultaneous

industrialisation in those countries (Easterly, 2006).

The first United Nations Development Decade started in the 1960s. A target of 4%

GNP growth was set for the poor countries through a 1% combined GNP contribution from

the industrialised nations, in terms of ODA (Adiseshiah, 1979). It did not happen, as that

contribution never came from the industrialised nations (Kuhnen, 1987). There was no

change in the aid doctrine during the 1960s. ODA continued to be perceived as a tool to

provide necessary capital and skills to start industrialisation to foster GNP-based

development (Thorbecke, 2006).

The trickle-down approach[*] to development and the GNP-growth model of the 1950s

and 1960s, however, came under attack in the 1970s. It was argued that the trickle-down

approach had failed to deliver, and only elites had reaped its benefits (Thérien, 2002). The

GNP-growth-based model was criticised for its failure to deal with key social issues, such as

poverty, and for fuelling the balance-of-payments problem for developing countries, due to

their heavy foreign borrowing (Kuhnen, 1987). The focus of the development paradigm

shifted slightly towards social issues and ODA started to flow into projects addressing

poverty reduction, lack of education and gender equality. The broader focus of ODA,

however, remained on economic development through the trickle-down mechanism (Emmerij,

2002).

Development policy was subject to a major overhaul in the 1980s. On the one hand,

there was a financial crisis and recession in the developed world; on the other hand, the

developing countries were facing a worsening balance of payments and budget deficit

(Thorbecke, 2006). The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB)

advocated Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), asking aid-recipient countries to fix

their balance of payments and budget first before investing in the social sector (Thérien,

2002).

The SAPs received much appreciation in the early 1990s thanks to the economic

success of Southeast Asian countries or "Asian Tigers." ODA, on the other hand, was

regarded as a negative incentive that caused aid dependency among developing countries

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[*] *The development theory in the 1950s and 1960s advocated the assumption that the wealth flows from the rich to the poor naturally in a vertical fashion i.e. the rich will get the benefits of growth first and when they start spending, the poor will also receive the benefits of growth. Thus, the poor benefit from economic growth indirectly and only when it trickles down from the rich (Kakwani, & Pernia, 2000).*
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(Thorbecke, 2006). However, the financial crisis of Southeast Asian economies in 1997, coupled with increasing poverty in developing countries after implementing SAPs, prompted policy makers to do some rethinking about SAPs (Thérien, 2002).

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were announced at the start of the 21st century with eight specific targets: eradication of extreme hunger and poverty; universal primary education; gender equality and empowerment of women; reduction of child mortality; improved mental health; the combatting of HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases; environmental sustainability; and global partnership for development (Millennium Project, 2002). The aid community endorsed these MDGs with a commitment to achieving them by the end of 2015. In order to achieve those goals, there were calls for aid effectiveness and a closer cooperation within the aid community to increase aid harmonisation or to have a better aid delivery system (Mawdsley, Savage, & Kim, 2014).

In the new century, the aid community was no longer limited to governments and financial institutions. The private sector was getting increasingly involved. In addition, there were numerous non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and philanthropic foundations active across the globe in various areas of social development (Nelson, 2007). There were, by this time; multiple donors, multiple recipients and multiple policy objectives. Aid had become multidimensional, chaotic, and fragmented (Severino & Ray, 2009).

Aid effectiveness has been the most important question from the very start of ODA. In recent years, it has been argued that good governance was one of the key ingredients to making aid effective (Kaufmann, 2009). The WB was the first institution that linked ineffectiveness of aid with a lack of governance, in 1989 (Singh, 2003). In 1997, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) introduced an outline of governance (UNESCAP, n.d.).

In the field of development, governance means making a connection between poor development and practices. The aid community, including donors and NGOs, has been promoting the idea that, without governance, aid effectiveness is not possible (Grindle, 2004). However, there are arguments that a holistic approach should be adopted in defining and determining governance. The approach should be a reflection of points of view of all the stakeholders including donors and recipients (Hyden, Court, & Mease, 2003).

In the last 70 years, ODA has seen various trends. It is still considered instrumental in igniting economic development in poor countries. Its focus, however, has been broadened to social development and to issues such as democracy. Though the Cold War has long been over, ODA was still a tool for achieving foreign policy objectives. There are many old and new questions for the aid community to answer in the new century, for example, how to make aid effective and how to harmonise its delivery given the changing composition of donors and objectives of the aid. Demanding adherence to governance from the aid-recipient countries was considered a way to make aid effective. However, the people of the aid-recipient countries were still missing in the big picture, unable to voice what they wanted or to help make aid effective. This study looks into the question of aid and governance from the perspective of the people of the aid-recipient countries.

Focus of the Study

The focus of this study is on investigating what governance means to the recipient stakeholders. It is exploratory research, concentrating on one major aid recipient country, i.e. Pakistan.

As discussed earlier, Pakistan is a paradox of development. Despite receiving billions of dollars of aid over the years, it has shown little or no signs of improvement in the areas of social and human development. Broader studies are needed to investigate the causes of Pakistan's failure and to find ways to improve governance and aid effectiveness.

This study, however, is restricted to finding out the perceptions of people of Pakistan about international aid and the management of aid projects. The methodology of this research is based on a qualitative descriptive approach from the perspective of the postpositive paradigm. Therefore, the study understands that people in Pakistan have a unique view of governance and management issues in development aid projects due to their social, cultural, and political settings.

The research data was collected by interviewing a group of primary school teachers who had received training under the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) through a funded project called Educational Sector Reform Assistance (ESRA) in Pakistan. This particular sample group was chosen because the participants were recipients of an international aid project. Furthermore, being teachers, they had a better understanding of international aid projects and issues related to governance. It is an exploratory study, thus limited in its scope, yet significant, as there was little to no literature available in this area and specific to Pakistan. Its significance lies in the fact that the question of aid effectiveness and governance is usually asked and answered from the perspective of the donors. This research has tried to answer this question from the perspective of aid recipients. It is thought that this will help in designing further in-depth research and better development aid policies.

Some Personal Reflections

I first became aware of foreign aid projects in the early 1990s during my university years, through some friends. They were associated with various NGOs. Later on, when I started my working life as a journalist, I had a chance to see the mushrooming growth of NGOs in Pakistan. A general perception about foreign aid was that plenty of money was available in the social development area, and that running an NGO was the best way to get that money. There were always news items about the amount of aid Pakistan was receiving. There were discussions about SAPs and their impact on ordinary people. A common question

was: Why, despite all the aid, was there no significant progress in any area, including infrastructure and social and human development? Rampant corruption, lack of governance, and lack of interest from donors were a few reasons that were often attributed to the failure of aid to change things.

Over the years, I realised that there was plenty of talk about the importance of better health and education, and well-being. However, I never heard anything about what the people actually wanted to be changed and in what way they wanted it to be changed. I asked myself this question again and again: Why were there no visible, sustainable positive results despite numerous aid projects? Corruption and lack of governance were the obvious explanations, but that was not sufficient to explain the continual failure of aid projects. Then I realised that all the projects were developed for the people, yet the people were not part of those projects. Instead of being primary stakeholders, they were alienated and did not have any ownership of the projects. Little or no formative research was carried out with the recipients at its centre. Nor did I find much in the literature about people's voices regarding either aid effectiveness or its management.

That was the background that made me decide to take up this research project. As an exploratory study, I decided to keep it limited to one geographical region and focussed on one aid project, in order to keep it manageable. Pakistan was an obvious choice, as I understood the place, the culture, and the aid issues specific to the country.

I was not expecting it to turn out to be such a long journey. Keeping myself focussed, finding inspiration, and being motivated while working full time and dealing with family and personal life issues were the biggest challenges that I faced. As a result, many little tasks took much longer to accomplish and the time just kept ticking. The actual process of data collection did not take too long. There were a few hurdles such as finding participants, obtaining permissions, and travelling to Pakistan, but that all worked out well in the end. I am

glad I continued moving on, despite all the hurdles. It was a rewarding journey that enriched my knowledge and understanding about the issue of aid. I hope this research will contribute to further inquiry about the perception of people regarding aid effectiveness and governance in developing countries such as Pakistan.

Thesis Outline

Chapter One provides a summary of the thesis. It briefly touches on history and issues related to aid effectiveness and governance.

Chapter Two has been divided into three parts. Part One explores the evolution of ODA, its objectives and the issue of aid effectiveness. Part Two discusses the issue of governance and its relevance to ODA and aid effectiveness. Part Three presents a profile of Pakistan, its history of foreign aid, and its governance issues.

Chapter Three provides details about the methodology used in this research. Qualitative descriptive methodology has been used, along with purposive sampling to select participants, interviews to collect data, and content analysis to analyse the data. Moreover, a detailed account of the selection of participants and the ESRA project has been included to provide complete background information.

Chapter Four presents the data analysis. Data were collected through semi-structured face-to-face interviews, composed of a series of questions regarding the ESRA training experience and perception about foreign aid and its governance. After transcription, the interviews were analysed using the content analysis method.

Chapter Five is the conclusion of the thesis in the form of a discussion based on the literature review and the results that emerged from data analysis. It also provides suggestions for the direction of future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review
Official Development Aid, Governance, and Pakistan

Preamble

This section will be divided into three parts. In Part One I will look at the literature available on the evolution of Official Development Aid (ODA), various issues related to its effectiveness, and its objectives. In Part Two, I will examine how the concept of governance was applied to ODA. In Part Three, I will elaborate on ODA and its governance, with reference to Pakistan.

Part One: Official Development Aid

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) defines Official Development Assistance (ODA) as:

i. Provided by official agencies, including state and local governments, or by their executive agencies; and

ii. Where each transaction:

a) is administered with the promotion of economic development and welfare of developing countries as its main objective; and

b) is concessional in character and conveys a grant element of at least 25% (calculated at a rate of discount of 10%) [2] (OECD, 2008).

In other words, ODA, as the name implies, is aid given by governments or agencies, such as the WB, by mutual agreement and on concessional terms to poor or developing countries. ODA has a clear objective to assist with the economic development and welfare of the developing countries. Under these objectives, certain types of aid qualify as ODA and

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[2] *This formula is used to determine that whether a loan is concessional and then a loan could be considered as ODA if it is concessional and satisfies the ODA criteria (OECD 2008,). See OECD Factsheet November 2008 at http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/34086975.pdf.*

certain types do not. For instance, aid for the peaceful use of nuclear energy is ODA but aid for the military use of nuclear energy is not (OECD, 2008).

ODA was introduced as a temporary economic measure at the end of the Second World War (WWII). It became a prominent feature of the international agenda, dealing with issues such as human development, poverty, education and health (Emmerij, 2002). Since 1940, it was the first systematic approach by the wealthy nations to help poor countries through financial and technical assistance (Thérien, 2002). In order to understand the purpose, objectives, trends, and effectiveness of ODA, it is worth looking at its conceptual evolution in a cursory fashion.

Early aid history – European colonialism to WWII. Colonialism has been defined as an activity of expansion, and the subjugation of land and goods belonging to other people, nations, and countries. Some examples of colonialism include the Roman Empire, the Mongolian Empire, and the Ottoman Empire (Loomba, 2005). Spain, Portugal, the United Kingdom (UK), and France were the key players of European colonialism. The European colonisers were eager to expand their boundaries and trade for a variety of reasons such as scientific inventions, religion, trade interests, and the need for raw materials (Haden, 1968; Willis, 2005). The development activities that the European colonial powers initiated in their colonies, for various reasons, were seen as marking the beginning of ODA (Führer, 1994).

From the early 1920s to the years leading to WWII, France and the UK, the two major colonial powers, took some measures to streamline relations with their colonies. In 1921, France, which had a single administrative corps to maintain its various colonies, adopted a general programme and started providing loans to its colonies. The purpose of that policy was to establish a mechanism of the market economy to foster closer association with the colonies (Pacquement, 2010).

Until the 1920s in the UK, it was understood that the local administrations of its various colonies were responsible for local affairs, ranging from revenue collection to maintaining law and order and providing social services (Barder, 2005). Unlike French colonialism, which evolved on the notion of French nationalism and power, the concept behind British colonialism was to civilise the inferior people of the colonies. It was not as systematic and organised as French colonialism and it was geographically widespread (Pacquement, 2010). The UK first acknowledged legal responsibility to provide financial support for their colonies' development in 1929, through the enactment of the Colonial Development Act. This Act primarily aimed to reduce unemployment in the UK by promoting trade and industry (Barder, 2005).

However, the policy shift from both empires did not result in an immediate increase in funding. It, nevertheless, paved the way for a further legal framework to provide funding to colonies in the years before, during, and after WWII (Pacquement, 2010).

In order to address the situation in Africa after the violent conflicts in the British colonies during the1930s, the UK introduced the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 and 1945 to increase funding to its colonies (Barder, 2005). At the same time, perception about the idea of foreign aid also witnessed a change with the emergence of the welfare state in the 1930s and 1940s. Foreign aid therefore became more common and a way to extend the welfare state to the colonies (Thérien, 2002).

The colonials' idea of development through aid and investment, which emerged after the 1920s and continued to take shape until the end of WWII, was fundamentally meant to protect trade interests, develop the colonies to facilitate the export of raw materials, and avoid unrest in the colonies. It was therefore quite different from the modern definition and objectives of ODA. It was, however, a stepping-stone to development aid as it exists today.

Post WWII and the Marshall Plan. At the end of WWII, the old colonial views changed significantly as major European colonial powers, i.e. the UK and France, were themselves in need of reconstruction. There was also a growing demand for independence from their colonies. In both UK and France, questions about the cost of colonisation came under discussion (Pacquement, 2010). Moreover, there was a general desire for harmony in the world, with a realisation that the conditions in colonised countries should improve (Kuhnen, 1987). The United Nations (UN) was established in 1945 and in 1946, and the idea of development assistance as we know it today, became a part of its agenda. By doing so, the UN made development aid a consideration for policy making (Pronk, 2001).

The reconstruction of Europe required financial resources and a policy through political will. The question of financial resources and providing stability to the global economic and monetary system was addressed through the establishment of three major financial institutions at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944. The IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development or the WB were established in 1945 while the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was established in 1947 (Willis, 2005).

It was argued that the trade deficit or dollar gap that existed between Europe and the US after WWI played a crucial role in starting WWII. In order to avoid this, the IMF was created to offer emergency loans to the countries suffering from a trade deficit after WWII. (Killick, 2008). However, both the IMF and the WB were found insufficient to deal with the reconstruction issues of Europe alone (Kindleberger, 1968).

Against this backdrop, the US presented the Marshall Plan to deal with the challenge of reconstructing Europe. The Marshall Plan dealt with problems in Europe that the newly formed institutions, for instance the UN, WB, and GATT, seemed unable to deal with efficiently (Bossuat, 2008).

The Marshall Plan was the first policy that, on one hand, provided operating principles and procedures for rebuilding Europe and, on the other hand, laid down the foundations for modern development assistance (Thérien, 2002). It widened the scope of US foreign funding, which was solely focussed towards stopping the spread of communism at that time (Bossuat, 2008). In his historical speech on June 5, 1947, US Secretary of State George C. Marshall set the direction for modern ODA:

> It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist. (Marshall, 1947, para. 7)

The speech was transmitted into a policy document and endorsed by the US Congress in 1948 as the Economic Recovery Act (Morella, 2008). The Act was later officially introduced as the European Recovery Plan and was thereafter known as the Marshall Plan (Bossuat, 2008).

The Marshall Plan was considered a success, and highly regarded for its role in uniting and rebuilding Europe. It was a multilateral approach to dealing with recipient countries as a unit with regional economic integration (Machado, 2008). With financial aid and the transfer of technology, it offered a plan to modernise the whole of Europe and paved the way for the union of Europe (Bossuat, 2008) by creating interdependence among the Western European countries (Geremek, 2008).

Besides advancing the idea of the effectiveness of foreign aid and economic cooperation, the Marshall Plan determined the future direction of aid mechanisms through the establishment of the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) in 1948. The

OEEC was aimed at increasing cooperation between the recipients of aid. In 1961, it was

renamed the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (Barder,

2005; Willis, 2005).

The European recovery improved the relationship between Europe and the US.

Limiting the spread of communism and the European recovery were attributed to the

Marshall Plan (Kunz, 2015). Encouraged by this, Truman, the US president at the time,

announced his Point Four Programme in 1949: US foreign aid would be used to develop the

resources and living conditions of underdeveloped countries (Pronk, 2001). However, it did

not last long. In 1951, the Mutual Security Plan replaced the Point Four Programme in order

to provide aid to those countries that were important to the security needs of the US (Bossuat,

2008).

1950s – The Cold War and development economics. The 1950s started with a

different perception of foreign aid and its purpose. The basic shift that happened in the

postcolonial period was that the objective of foreign aid moved from improvements in the

colonies to development in the newly independent countries (Thérien, 2002). The success of

the Marshall Plan hugely influenced the discourse of foreign aid. It was the first time that

foreign aid was seen as a useful tool for dealing with the economic problems of poor

countries, particularly the former colonies of the UK and France (Barder, 2005). At the same

time, the world was getting ready to embrace the idea of a divided world and the Cold War.

The main objective of foreign aid during the Cold War was to counter the spread of

communism, and this became an inseparable part of foreign policy (Stone, 2010). During the

Cold War, the US restricted its aid to the countries it considered to be part of the Free World

(Thérien, 2002). In order to meet its foreign policy and security objectives, the US brought

foreign aid under the Mutual Security Act in 1952. The Mutual Security Agency (MSA) was

also introduced to replace the Economic Cooperation Agency (ECA), which had handled

disbursement of aid under the Marshall Plan. Under the new agency, aid was given to South Korea, Taiwan (Formosa), Vietnam, the Philippines, Thailand, India, Iran, Jordan, and Pakistan (Führer, 1994; Hjertholm & White, 2000). Foreign aid from the UK and France, on the other hand, was focussed on their former colonies. The US, the UK, and France provided 90% of the global ODA to these countries until 1995 (Thérien, 2002). In other words, 90% of the ODA was being used to achieve the foreign and trade policy objectives of those countries.

While the Cold War was heating up, there was a group of countries (mostly former colonies and underdeveloped countries, often referred to as the Third World), which had a view to choosing a middle path, i.e. not officially supporting the US or USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Willis, 2005). This group, represented by 29 heads of state, formed the Non-Aligned Movement in 1955. These countries wanted to develop fast, and created demand for foreign aid (Hjertholm & White, 2000; Krueger, 1995).

The prevailing view was that conditions in newly independent countries would push them towards communism. With the experience of Europe's swift recovery, it was thought that rapid development was possible in those countries, and that would stop them from joining the communist camp (Kuhnen, 1987). Moreover, the foreign aid was seen as a substitute or catalyst to start industrialisation, in the absence of capital for developing countries, and that this would eventually lead them towards the path of self-sustained growth (McGillivray, 2006).

At the theoretical front, it was the emerging discipline of development economics that provided justification for foreign aid for developing countries. Development economics was the extension of colonial economics but with different objectives. Colonial economics was concerned about improvement in the colonies, for example, developing the natural resources and ensuring political stability in the colonies. Development economics was about advising

the newly independent countries to achieve economic development (Krueger, 1995;

Oslington, 1993).

The growth theory was the first thing that caught the attention of the early

development economists (Engel, 2010). They were interested in finding out how to start and

maintain economic growth. To achieve this goal, an economic model based on the "trickle-

down" mechanism and Kuznets' U-shaped-curve hypothesis was broadly preferred (Emmerij,

2002). Various models based on the growth theory emerged. Those models, commonly

known as basic gap models, advocated for a healthy savings ratio and investment in order to

start the process of development. In other words, economic growth was not possible without

sufficient levels of savings and foreign exchange (Engel, 2010; McGillivray, 2006). However,

the newly independent and other poor countries did not have adequate levels of savings and

investment, due to their low export earnings and low domestic revenue. Thus, foreign aid was

intended as a substitute to meet the shortfall of capital or fill the gap to start the process of

development (McGillivray, 2006; Oslington, 1993; Zoellick, 2010).

Development, therefore, was a synonym for economic growth or increase in a

nation's Gross National Product (GNP) and, to achieve that, industrialisation was deemed

critical (Fischer, 2009; Thorbecke, 2006; Willis, 2005). Early development economists

explained the cause of underdevelopment in terms of structuralism, i.e. impediment of

economies of underdeveloped countries such as the balance of payment problems (Chenery,

1975). They identified the role of foreign aid in relation to the balance of payments (Fischer,

2009) and two crucial factors: capital and technical training identified to kick-start

industrialisation. For this reason, during the 1950s, capital and technical training were seen as

essential components of development policy (Kuhnen, 1986).

Moreover, it was argued that small chunks of aid would not be able to ignite growth,

so a "big push" was necessary. During the 1950s, Paul Rosenstein-Rodan of the WB

advocated the theory of the Big Push. It argued that, in order to get out of the poverty trap, poor countries need simultaneous industrialisation in all areas through heavy investment. Thus investment in big infrastructural projects was needed, and in order to finance them there was a need of foreign aid to compensate for the lack of capital in the poor countries (Easterly, 2006; Engel, 2010; Kuhnen, 1986, 1987; Pronk, 2001).

On a side note, a community development approach was encouraged for development. While the main focus was on rapid industrialisation to achieve growth through a top-down approach, US and other aid providers supported a bottom-up approach of community development, in order to foster social cohesion at the grassroots level (Hjertholm & White, 2000; Immerwahr, 2012). It was a rather political strategy during the Cold War era to change the rural areas, and to introduce western concepts of growth and development through non-revolutionary ways (Kuhnen, 1986, 1987).

In summary, the 1950s saw the emergence of a clear concept at a global level that development should be growth-based, and that rapid industrialisation was the way to achieve it. Foreign aid was seen to provide the necessary capital that was considered essential to starting industrialisation, and to avoiding defaults due to the balance of payments.

On the political front, foreign aid was considered a useful tool for restricting the spread of communism during the Cold War era. Foreign aid was seen to have two purposes: firstly, to keep newly independent former colonies in the non-communist bloc by offering them a growth-and-development model with necessary funding and training, and secondly, to provide aid to the countries that were considered important from the perspective of foreign policy and security objectives. In the coming decades, the concepts and models of development were applied. This is how the first development decade started.

1960s – First development decade. In 1961, the United Nations declared the 1960s as the Decade of Development. It began with the big idea of achieving economic

development through 4% GNP growth with support through foreign aid (Adiseshiah, 1979).
The dream of massive industrialisation of underdeveloped economies vanished soon after the
beginning of 1960, as donor countries disbursed less aid and provided fewer trade
concessions (Kuhnen, 1987). The original idea was that industrialised nations would provide
1% of their combined GNP as foreign aid, but this never happened (Adiseshiah, 1979).

There were no major changes in aid doctrine in the 1960s. GNP remained the
yardstick to measure the economic development (Thorbecke, 2006), and foreign aid was the
tool to ignite industrialisation in the developing countries (Fischer, 2009). However, the
theories of the previous decade were challenged and the dependency theory was put forward
(Kuhnen, 1987). The dependency theorists rejected the premise, made by the earlier or
modernity based development theories that underdevelopment of developing countries was
due to their own internal and inherent conditions. They claimed that the actual cause of
underdevelopment was their dependency on the political and economic interests of the
industrialised nations. (Engel, 2010; Kuhnen, 1986; Matunhu, 2011; Robb, 2004). For
example, developed countries exploited devekloping countries by exporting raw materials
from them, adding value in their own economies, and exporting more expensive good back,
creating dependencies. (Groves & Hinton, 2004).

In 1969, the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD formulated the
concept of ODA. It defined the purpose and objectives of ODA and differentiated it from all
other kinds of aid and funding (Führer, 1994).

1970s – Second development decade. The second development decade started with a
realisation that a change was needed in the prevailing aid doctrine. While endorsing the need
for development aid, the UN observed that the developing countries were responsible for
their own development, but they could not do it without financial help from developed
countries (United Nations, 1970). There was an emerging sense that the task of developing

the poor countries was much bigger than the reconstruction of Europe. The idea of

modernisation through its trickle-down mechanism had failed to deliver and had benefited the

privileged class in the poor countries. Therefore, the development needed a different direction

(Thérien, 2002).

The GNP-based development strategy was under attack, as it failed to provide a

solution to problems such as poverty, unemployment, unequal income distribution, and rural-

urban migration. Moreover, it was blamed for aggravating the balance-of-payments problem

and increasing foreign debt in the developing countries. The development strategy thus

shifted towards alleviation of absolute poverty, more equal income distribution, and reducing

underemployment (Hjertholm & White, 2000; Thorbecke, 2006). This shift was the result of

the World Employment Programme, which made employment an objective of the

development strategy (Kuhnen, 1987). The programme, which was initiated by the

International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1969, had the aim of increasing the standard of

living in poor countries through employment opportunities (Thorbecke, 2006).

At the same time, the basic needs strategy, which argued that people in developing

countries needed food, clothing, shelter, and health more than megaprojects, was promoted

(Engel, 2010). A basic needs strategy and the concept of participation of the poor in the

development process was based on community development strategies that were promoted

during the 1950s (Kuhnen, 1987).

The 1970s saw social development objectives added as a strategy and aid started to

flow in for programmes supporting poverty reduction, education and gender equality. The

economic model to meet those objectives, however, remained based on the trickle-down

approach (Emmerij, 2002). Members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of

the OECD made it clear in their High Level Meeting in October 1977 that attaining basic

human needs could not be replaced by economic growth, which required modernisation and industrialisation (Führer, 1994).

Following the emergence of the basic needs theory, at least at the conceptual level, it was also acknowledged that there was a need to bring the aid recipient communities into the process of planning and implementing the aid projects. A number of high-level declarations emerged, and donor countries started making necessary legislative changes in support of popular participation, or a bottom-up approach to development (Cornwall, 2002).

The underpinning of the participatory approach came from the ideas of Paulo Freire, an educationist from Brazil. Concepts and terms such as "bottom-up" or "grassroots" approaches, developed by Freire, were widely used and described as the Freirean approach in the development discourse of the 1960s and the 1970s, until the term "participatory" came into fashion (Blackburn, 2000). Development practitioners adopted participation as a process to empower local people, enabling them to understand, analyse, and take control of their own situation so that they could make their own decisions or make their own projects (Chambers, 1994).

Despite support from the WB, UN, OECD, and other institutions, the basic needs strategy proved to be a failure due to confusion about its definition, limitations, and a lack of support from the developing countries (Thérien, 2002). It was eventually shelved. The WB withdrew its support during the 1980s as a consequence of its high administrative costs and lack of effectiveness (Kuhnen, 1987).

The change in development thinking did not last long. Following the Oil Crisis, falling commodity prices, and balance-of-payments problems, the focus of development moved from the basic needs approach to neoliberalism in the late 1970s (Fischer, 2009; Hjertholm & White, 2000). The developing nations were borrowing from the private sector to finance their development projects. Commodities were the main source of earning for many

developing nations. In the 1970s, commodity export prices started falling and consequently those nations could not meet their debt repayment obligations (Willis, 2005). Against this backdrop the "lost decade of development" started.

1980s – The lost decade of development. In a nutshell, the motto of the 1980s was that development strategies required a major overhaul in response to financial situations of both the donor and recipient countries. While the developing countries had to deal with the problem of negative balance of payments, a budget deficit, large foreign debt, and higher interest rate issues, the donor countries were going through a period of recession (Robb, 2004; Simensen, 2007). Amid this, in 1982, the Mexican financial crisis put a question mark on the survival of the international financial system. The aid recipient countries were asked to deal with their balance of payments and budget issues before they could continue on the development and poverty alleviation programmes of the past decades. The 1980s was, therefore, seen as the lost decade of development (Robb, 2004; Thorbecke, 2006).

The IMF and the WB strongly advocated SAPs as the development model (Thérien, 2002). The modus operandi to fix development problems of the developing countries was based on the neo-classical approach, described under the term "Washington Consensus" (Engel, 2010; Fischer, 2009; Hjertholm & White, 2000). It required the developing countries to take austerity measures through fiscal discipline such as reducing budget deficits and public expenditure, and opening up their markets (Willis, 2005). It was a paradigm shift that aimed at the liberalisation of the economy, deregulation, and privatisation in order to facilitate the private sector playing its part in growth and development (Emmerij, 2002).

The social aspect of development strategies that surfaced in the 1970s was replaced with adjustment strategies. It was the beginning of SAPs and aid conditionality. Aid was linked to the ability of governments to implement the adjustment package, increase the role of the markets, and reduce the role of government (Thérien, 2002; Thorbecke, 2006).

There were fundamentally two main arguments behind SAPs: that the financial state of developing countries was essentially linked to their own poor financial management, and that without putting the house in order, or fixing the macroeconomic issues, development would not be possible (Thérien, 2002).

While the development paradigm was having a makeover and the era of conditionality was in full swing, there were two major additions to development theories that influenced the future development direction. The first was the concept of human capital and its role in development. This concept placed a greater emphasis on education and training as a precursor to the potential full use of the market. The second was Amartya Sen's poverty analysis that provided a tool for understanding and measuring poverty. Sen introduced the concepts of functionings and capabilities to define well-being of a person. Functionings encompass what sort of life people are living or what they have achieved. Capabilities, on the other hand, are the abilities of individuals to achieve and freedom to chose their functioning or their life. Thus freedom of a person to choose his/her "functioning" is most important, and that defines his/her well-being or in other words, poverty is directly related to having no or minimum freedom to make choices (Emmerij, 2002; Engel, 2010; Kakwani, & Pernia, 2000; Thorbecke, 2006; Willis, 2005)..

There existed fierce criticism of SAPs; they were attributed with a decline in living standards and social services such as health and education in the developing countries. Most of the criticism came from the NGOs; it was the manifestation of their growing influence in development policy (Thérien, 2002).

1990s – End of the Cold War and conditionalities. The last decade of the 20th century was an eventful decade. The Cold War finally came to its end in the early 1990s. Following that, there were heavy debates of how ODA could be used more effectively in the post-Cold War era (Woods, 2005).

The first half of the 1990s was dominated by the success story of the eastern Asian countries or Asian Tigers. Their economies witnessed remarkable growth and they were praised for implementing structural adjustment policies with their own priorities (Willis, 2005). While SAPs and the market mechanisms were applauded, ODA was considered a negative incentive that caused aid dependency by the developing countries. This resulted in a sharp decline in ODA disbursements (Hjertholm & White, 2000; Thorbecke, 2006). For instance, these dropped by 21% between 1992 to 1997 (Thérien, 2002). The end of the Cold War was another reason causing the decline in ODA disbursements. The Cold War had provided a strong justification for ODA, and with its end, the threat of communist expansion was removed. It was therefore considered that a valid case for providing aid to geopolitically important countries no longer existed (Slater & Bell, 2002).

In 1997, Southeast Asian economies faced a financial crisis that put a question mark on SAPs and poverty alleviation again became a focus of the development agenda. At the same time, aid conditionality and its effectiveness came under discussion as to whether aid could really buy good policies or force recipient countries to implement programmes (Thorbecke, 2006). There was also some willingness on the part of the international financial institutions to rethink or make changes in the approach following increasing poverty in developing countries due to SAPs (Thérien, 2002).

At the end of the 1990s, the development doctrine was a fusion of the 1980s market-based macroeconomic approach and the 1970s human-oriented goals (Thérien, 2002). At this time, a lot more statistical information started emerging, especially about socioeconomic welfare that could be used in development debates (Thorbecke, 2006). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) initiated the publication of annual reports on human development. Amartya Sen's work on capabilities and functioning had a great influence on those reports. Issues like democracy and human rights were also included in the development

debate. It was the first time that the term "good governance" became part of the development agenda. The WB linked good governance to aid effectiveness (Emmerij, 2002). From the perspective of donors, the OECD released a key document *Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Cooperation*. This document, besides highlighting such issues as alleviation of poverty and social development, also introduced governance-related goals such as the rules of law, accountability, democratic governance, and human rights (as cited in Thérien, 2002).

21st Century – Millennium Development Goals. The 21st century started with new energy and optimism to make the world a better place to live. This resulted in the formulation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In September 2000, all the members of the UN in its millennium summit adopted the United Nations Millennium Declaration, consisting of eight MDGs: the eradication of extreme hunger and poverty; universal primary education; gender equality and the empowerment of women; reduction in child mortality; improvements in mental health; combatting HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases; environmental sustainability; and global partnership for development (Millennium Project, 2002; Willis, 2005).

The MDGs provided a framework for further discussion on the focus of ODA in the new century and that was well reflected in the outcome document of the International Conference on Financing for Development in Mexico in 2002. While frequently referring to the targets set in the MDGs, the document highlighted the role of development aid in achieving those targets and the need to ensure effectiveness of ODA (United Nations, 2002).

Despite the unprecedented manifestation of support for the change identified in MDGs, it was argued that, unlike the early decades of development aid, the new millennium was suffering from a drought on big ideas. It was a period of consolidation and re-examination of the strategies and ideas of last century. The development objectives expanded

from liberalisation and governance to MDGs, and also included human development and human welfare in terms of health, education and poverty alleviation. In order to achieve those objectives, closer global cooperation and globalisation emerged as viable strategies (Thorbecke, 2006).

Aid effectiveness and aid harmonisation. From the start, ODA was used by donor states to serve a wider policy agenda for their own economic, political, cultural and geopolitical goals (Hoeffler & Outram, 2011; Sumner & Mallett, 2013; Woods, 2005). However, economic growth has always been the benchmark for measuring aid effectiveness (Sumner & Mallett, 2013). After the end of the Cold War and just before the end of the century, the motivation to gain geopolitical influence ended as well, leading to a sharp decline in ODA. For instance, the US's share of total ODA fell by half from 1990 to 1997 (Severino & Ray, 2009). At the same time the question of aid effectiveness took a dominant position in the aid agenda (Mawdsley et al., 2014).

Events like the attacks on the Twin Towers in New York on September 11, 2001 put the security agenda at the top of the list again and development was seen as a tool to achieve security (Fair, 2009; Stone, 2010; Woods, 2005). The aid policy moved from the agenda of geopolitics and economic growth of the recipient nations to dealing with the humanitarian crisis, conflicts and social issues (Severino & Ray, 2009). Other goals of ODA, such as poverty reduction and good governance, were still a focus of the MDGs (Mawdsley et al., 2014).

New private donors such as NGOs and private and philanthropic foundations were replacing the role of the traditional donors and recipient nations in managing ODA. Changes in the composition of aid and the nature of bilateral donors and recipients demand a new global policy in order to deal with issues such as aid fragmentation. The monopoly of states and governments managing ODA did not exist anymore. Unlike in the past, when ODA used

to flow from donor states to governments of the recipient states, by this time there were

multiple donors and recipients. On the positive side, ODA had more creative solutions to deal

with the problems such as poverty, education, and health. The downside was that aid had

become multidimensional, chaotic, and costly, with multiple donors, multiple recipients, and

multiple policy objectives (Rogerson, Hewitt, & Waldenberg, 2004 ; Severino & Ray, 2009;

Sumner & Mallett, 2013).

In order to deal with the problems of aid fragmentation and the desire to make it more

effective, the OECD organised a number of high-level forums to discuss aid effectiveness

and boost cooperation in aid delivery by both donors and recipients. In February 2003, the

OECD organised the first high-level forum on harmonisation in Rome, which was attended

by both donors and recipients. This forum resulted in the Rome Declaration on

Harmonisation, in which participants of the forum agreed on improving the effectiveness and

management of aid. The donor states committed to harmonising procedures in order to cut

costs for recipient countries (Asia-Pacific Aid Effectiveness Portal, 2009). Harmonisation

was about promoting better coordination and cooperation among donors to increase aid

effectiveness (Mawdsley et al., 2014).

The second high-level forum was held in Paris in March 2005 and concluded with the

Paris Declaration (PD) or Paris Principles. In this declaration, both donors and recipients

agreed on the five points of the Paris Principles, providing a framework for how to execute

and use development aid with effectiveness to achieve the targets set in the MDGs. The five

points of the PD were: country ownership, alignment, harmonisation, managing for

development results, and mutual accountability (Asia-Pacific Aid Effectiveness Portal, 2009).

The PD provided a concrete step towards shaping a paradigm consisting of principles and

targets to achieve aid effectiveness. In order to enhance aid effectiveness, under the PD,

recipient countries were asked to take ownership of their problems and develop strategies for

dealing with problems such as poverty. Donors, on the other hand, were asked to have a commitment to achieve development targets especially set in the MDGs, by aligning their strategies with the strategies of the recipient countries in order to steer away from top-down tendencies (Mawdsley et al., 2014).

The third high-level forum on aid effectiveness was held in September 2008 in Accra, Ghana. This forum resulted in the Accra Agenda for Action, which was another step towards realising the targets set in the MDGs under the framework outlined in the PD. The action plan focussed on how to accelerate implementation of the commitments made in the PD (Asia-Pacific Aid Effectiveness Portal, 2009).

In the shadow of the global financial crisis, the fourth conference on aid effectiveness was held in November and December 2011 in Busan, South Korea. Issues like transparency, accountability, fragile states, risk management, and sustainability dominated the discussions. It was noted that a large population of the world lived in conflict areas, and peace-building goals were discussed and adopted for those fragile states. The most important feature stemming from the conference in Busan was the understanding that, in the context of ODA, donors and recipients alike should be partners. Organisations such as NGOs, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), private donors, and emerging donors such as China and India were part of the development agenda. There was a change in the landscape within the ODA; this was seen as the development of the effectiveness of foreign aid (Mawdsley et al., 2014).

Part Two: Governance and Development

Governance. In 1989, the World Bank started linking ineffectiveness of aid with governance issues (Nanda, 2006), and since then the term "governance" has been used synonymously with the various conditions attached to development aid. Governance issues and development moved to the top of the international development policy agenda (Emmerij, 2002; Singh, 2003). Aid effectiveness was considered closely related to good governance,

from the perspective of donor and recipient countries alike, as well as non-governmental organisations. For instance, on the surface, the PD was about improving aid effectiveness through better coordination and partnership among donors and recipients (Hyden, Mease, Foresti, & Fritz, 2008). The implicit theme of the PD was good governance. Without dealing with the issue of governance, objectives of aid effectiveness would not be achievable (Kaufmann, 2009). Governance is considered a must for aid effectiveness. However, the question is, how is governance defined in development aid, and what does governance mean for the recipient stakeholders?

In 1997, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) outlined a set of criteria which, with some variations, is used to a great extent in literature to define the concept of governance (Edgar, 2006). Good governance is an ideal that aims to minimise corruption, and has the participation of all segments of society in the decision-making process. It encompasses eight principles: informed and organised participation of every member of society in decision making, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus orientation, equity and inclusiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, and accountability (UNESCAP, n.d.).

The PD on aid effectiveness emphasised country ownership of foreign assistance programmes, highlighting the issue of partnership and mutual accountability among recipients and donors, and how to undertake global governance assessment (Hyden et al., 2008). In order to meet the challenge of devising a mechanism for objective and global assessment criteria for governance, a number of organisations had developed tools and indicators to assess governance. For instance, the WB had designed the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI), composed of six aggregated indicators (Kaufmann & Kraay, 2002; Kaufmann, Kraay, & Mastruzzi, n.d.). The UNDP had developed the Governance Assessment Portal (United Nations Development Programme, n.d), and the OECD had

formed the DAC Governance Network (GOVNET). GOVNET, besides other functions, performs analysis of various governance tools used for assessment, in order to avoid a risk of duplication and to promote coherent collective actions (OECD, 2010). The Overseas Development Institute had introduced the World Governance Assessment (WGA) project with a country-focussed approach (ODI, 2007).

The idea of good governance in the field of development was based on research that established a link between poor development and practices. It was widely accepted among donors and aid practitioners such as NGOs that objectives of development aid could not be achieved without good governance. In other words, aid effectiveness was not possible without good governance (Grindle, 2004).

All stakeholders in development aid had acknowledged the issue of good governance. However, international donors, by making key decisions and providing the necessary funding for projects, were more interested than any other stakeholders in implementing the methods and practices that could ensure good governance (USAID Inspector General, 2009). At the same time, it was also important to understand how the remaining stakeholders saw the issue of governance.

Participation by local stakeholders was important, in order to have a balanced and diverse perspective on the issue of governance. Good governance was not to be left only to international donors to define. (Hyden et al., 2003). However, it is very demanding for the majority of recipient countries to implement governance agendas, as often people of those countries did not trust their governments and institutions for a number of reasons including corruption, political instability, and mismanagement. Governance agendas were very demanding for those countries (Fritz & Menocal, 2007; Grindle, 2004).

It appeared that the focus of aid has moved towards orchestrating and creating the preconditions for aid effectiveness rather than achieving aid objectives such as poverty

alleviation. This trend was quite clear in aid funding by donors. For three decades about 60% of the WB lending went to infrastructure projects, but by 2007 it had shrunk to about 20%. In contrast, about 50% of WB lending went to law and institutional reforms and human development in 2007 (Krever, 2011).

Nixon (2006) described governance as being about creating institutions modelled on liberal democracy and market economy. The crux of modern liberal democracy was the existence of independent institutions such as the independent central bank and the judiciary that could work independently, without any political pressure. In order to be successful, a modern state needed to run its own affairs through its various institutions with a certain level of transparency. Under the banner of good governance, this level of transparency meant a system of checks and balances in government, decentralisation of power, independent institutions such as the judiciary, civil service, financial institutions, the press and the protection of investment and private property including intellectual property (Grindle, 2004). This model was in contrast to the one where the state exercises its authority through all of its institutions. In other words, the modern liberal democratic state was to be made up of independent institutions worked in coherently, while maintaining a certain level of checks and balances.

Based upon modern liberal democracy, the majority of recipient countries faced two problems. First, their institutions were weak. Second, it was not very clear what exactly was needed to meet the conditions related to good governance. The recipient countries, on the one hand, lack strong institutions both in the public and private sphere, resulting in a lack of transparency in the process of decision-making and implementation of policies. On the other hand, there was a lack of clarity, with top-down governance objectives making the task of implementing good governance more difficult (Booth, 2011; Grindle, 2004).

There seemed to be no clear-cut path to deal with the issue of good governance for the recipient countries. There was no set manual to implement good governance while dealing with their complex social, political, and economic conditions. Nurturing good governance within was not an easy task, while a top-down approach to conditions by the donors has its negatives. All countries are different and have different issues. What worked in one place did not necessarily work in another place. A country-by-country approach was thought to be the answer, i.e. an approach that was based on the specific problems and solutions of a particular country (Booth, 2011; Grindle, 2004). This approach, however, put a question mark on the global governance assessment drive if governance was to be left to countries to assess for themselves (Hyden et al., 2008). A participatory development approach may have helped in promoting good governance. A society's reliance on the participation of its members to achieve social justice and sustainable development made it a close ally to the principles and aims of good governance. It promoted participation in decision-making process, and that, in turn, promoted good governance (JICA, 1995).

Part Three: Pakistan, Official Development Aid, and Governance

Pakistan and ODA. Since its independence in 1947, Pakistan has been a major recipient of development and military aid, thanks to its unique geostrategic position in the region (Kundi, 2007). Pakistan's case is an ideal one for understanding the perception of its citizens towards ODA due to its long-term exposure to foreign aid.

At the end of its colonial rule in 1947, the departing British divided India into two states that were based on religion. Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947 as a Muslim state. On the next day, India was declared a secular state. At the time of its independence, Pakistan was made up of two geographically separate regions, East Pakistan and West Pakistan. After declaring its independence in March 1971, East Pakistan finally separated from West Pakistan on December 16, 1971 and became the sovereign state of Bangladesh.

Today Pakistan consists of 796,095 square miles, bordered by India to the east, China to the

north-east, Iran to the south-west, and Afghanistan to the north-west (See Figure 1) The

Arabian Sea stretches 1,064 kilometres to the south. Pakistan is a federal parliamentary

democracy; administratively, it is divided into four provinces, namely Punjab, Sindh,

Balochistan, and Khyber Pukhtoonkhwa (Former NWFP) (Wynbrandt, 2009).

Figure 1. Political map of Pakistan. Reprinted from Nations Online, n.d., retrieved from
http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/pakistan_map.htm Copyright 1998-2015 by Nations Online.

From its early days of independence, successive governments have never been shy of exploiting the geostrategic position of the country during the Cold War era and beyond. Due to its own security concerns, mainly with India, Pakistan turned to the US for military and development assistance (Kundi, 2007).

In 1954, Pakistan joined various treaties like the Baghdad Pact and Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO), designed to counter the influence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). In return, Pakistan received an estimated $1.3 billion from 1954 to 1965 from the US for economic and military assistance (Wynbrandt, 2009). The US became the biggest bilateral aid partner to Pakistan, by providing two billion dollars during the years 1953 and 1961, and then increasing it to a further $400 million per year during the first half of the1960s. This was more than half of all foreign aid to Pakistan, an amount equivalent to half of its import payments and one third of its development budget (Ibrahim, 2009).

Pakistan and India fought two wars in 1965 and in 1971. These led the US to cut aid assistance to Pakistan. Following nuclear tests in India, Pakistan launched an ambitious nuclear programme. The US decided to activate aid assistance sanctions under the Symington Amendment in 1977. In response to the termination of the deal by French companies to supply nuclear technology to Pakistan, these sanctions were lifted briefly in 1978 and imposed again in 1979 as Pakistan continued procuring uranium enrichment equipment (Fair, 2009). The US aid (both economic and military) to Pakistan witnessed a gradual increase from 1948 to 1964. It then declined sharply following the war with India in 1965 and continued falling until 1979 (Ali, 2009).

The US sanctions proved to be short-lived. Pakistan was one of the strategic points for keeping an eye on the USSR during the Cold War. Moreover, there were significant events happening in the region towards the end of the 1970s. There was a communist revolution in

Afghanistan, and then finally the USSR army entered Afghanistan in 1979. Overnight, this turned Pakistan into a front-line state, in order to provide supplies and assistance to Afghan militia groups or Mujahedeen (Kundi, 2007; Wynbrandt, 2009). The change in circumstances translated into a promise to withdraw sanctions. In return for being part of the opposition to the Soviets in Afghanistan, the US provided hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of military and economic aid.

The negotiations on a new aid package started in 1980 between US and Pakistan. The US initially offered $400 million a year. Pakistan rejected this, calling it peanuts. Negotiations were finally concluded in 1981, with a $3.8 billion package over the next six years, and suspension of the Symington Amendment for the duration of the package. In 1985, the Pressler Amendment gave a condition regarding US aid assistance to Pakistan. This amounted to not using US aid for endeavours relating to nuclear explosive devices (Fair, 2009). Pakistan was the largest recipient of aid from the US in the world during the years of the Soviet war in Afghanistan, receiving over $6 billion from 1980 to 1989 (Kundi, 2007)

In 1989, USSR forces withdrew from Afghanistan. Soon afterwards, the 45-year-long Cold War ended with the disintegration of the USSR in 1991. In the same year, President George H.W. Bush declined to endorse that Pakistan did not have a nuclear arsenal under the Pressler Amendment (Korb, 2009). It was a clear indication that the US had no more interest in the region and thus there was no need to carry on assisting Pakistan. The US could not overlook Pakistan's nuclear ambitions any longer (Fair, 2009; Ibrahim, 2009; Kronstadt, 2004).

Aid from the US to Pakistan consequently declined; it dropped from $726 million to $24 million between 1992 to 1998 (Korb, 2009). By 1990, the US was disbursing most of the aid to Pakistan through United States Agency for International Development (USAID), which had one of its largest offices in the world with over 1,000 staff in Pakistan during the

Afghanistan War. As a result of the sanctions enacted under the Pressler Amendment, the

USAID office was drastically reduced in size and in 1995 it was completely shut down

(Ibrahim, 2009). From 1991 to 2000, Pakistan witnessed a sharp decline in US assistance;

only $429 million in economic assistance and $5.2 million in military assistance were

received during these years. Nuclear testing in 1998, and then a military coup in 1999 against

the democratically elected government, further eroded the supply of US aid to Pakistan (Korb,

2009).

Pakistan remained subjected to US sanctions such as the Glenn-Symington

Amendments, Section 508 sanctions, and sanctions on specific entities under the Missile

Technology Control Regime until September 11, 2001. The catastrophic events on that day,

and the beginning of the War on Terror, resulted in a déjà vu of US and Pakistan bilateral aid.

Similar to the 1980s, Pakistan once again became a key ally and frontline state in the US-led

War on Terror (Fair, 2009).

The total US aid assistance, which was less than $90 million in 2001, jumped to $2.1

billion in 2002, following President George Bush's decision to waive sanctions. In terms of

direct aid assistance, Pakistan received $2.63 billion from 2002 to 2005. By 2009 it had

received an estimated $15 billion of total aid from the US since the start of the War on Terror

(Fair, 2009). Under the Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act 2009, US development

assistance promised to be tripled, reaching US$7.5 billion over a period of five years (Centre

for Global Development, 2010).

Pakistan and governance. We focus now on governance from the perspective of

development. In this section, we will look into the connection between governance and

development. The broader issue of governance in Pakistan will not be discussed.

Corruption is widespread in Pakistan, due to poor governance. It exists in various

shapes and forms such as bribery, embezzlement, fraud, nepotism and extortion. It affects

almost all aspects of life and is particularly high in development projects (Javaid, 2010).

Despite its weak institutions and corruption, Pakistan has witnessed remarkable growth and

an increase in per capita income since its independence in 1947, but it has failed to capitalise

that growth in the form of social and human development. In this sense, Pakistan is a paradox

of development.

From 1952 to 1998, it received $58 billion in development aid as well as loans from

institutions like the WB and IMF from 1952 to 1998 making it the third largest recipient of

foreign aid. During that period, the country witnessed an average growth of 2.2%. In 2011,

after receiving aid worth US$4.4 billion, it was the fourth largest recipient of ODA in the

world (Development Initiatives, 2013).

Despite the steady growth and an increase in per capita income, Pakistan failed to

demonstrate the same level of progress in areas such as health and education. A number of

development initiatives and interventions by the government and international development

agencies in these areas ended without producing significant results. The case in Pakistan

supported the idea that growth does not necessarily pave the way for social development, or

that growth is possible without social development (Easterly, 2001).

Pakistan's failure to translate its growth into its social development could be traced

back to its social structure and political economy. During the colonial period, the British

practice was to award lands to their loyalists, which laid the foundations for corruption and

nepotism that further worsened as a result of defence-related procurements throughout WWII

(Javaid, 2010). Further, ethnic diversity also created political instability and weak institutions,

which led to corruption being even more widespread.

Pakistan was, and still is, an agricultural country where the majority of the population

live in rural areas. These were the domains of feudal landlords who have continued as the

ruling elites by making alliances with every government including various military

governments that have ruled the country since its independence. Feudal elites have little or no interest in human development, particularly in education and literacy, as literate masses are likely to challenge their dominance and power. At the same time, thanks to successive military governments, the defence budget of the country has seen an uninterrupted rise. For example, from 1980 to 2000, the defence budget doubled. The increase in defence spending has adversely affected development spending that had seen a decline over the years.

Pakistan is composed of ethnically diverse regions that were together at the time of its independence. Due to this polarisation and factionalism, institutions have been subject to political interference such as appointments in civil service. Dominance by the elite, and the polarised nature of Pakistani society, has resulted in poor governance, weak institutions, and a lack of human and social development (Easterly, 2001).

Conclusion

Since its inception, and over the last seventy years, ODA has been considered instrumental in tackling old and new issues like poverty, economic development, health, education and sustainability. In its early years, it was the main component of development economics and theories of development. As the Cold War progressed, ODA became a tool to achieve geopolitical goals and to address security needs. At the turn of this century, it received overwhelming support, resulting in growth of non-state donors such as NGOs, private foundations, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), and emerging donors like China and India. The MDGs were the outcomes of the optimism that problems in areas such as health, education, gender equality, the environment, and poverty could be dealt with through aid. Against the backdrop of 9/11, security was back on the aid agenda to support the fragile states. An unprecedented proliferation of donors and recipients, coupled with the MDGs, demanded better management of aid and aid effectiveness.

The idea of good governance has been put forward to achieve aid effectiveness. It is based on the assumption that poor development is the result of poor practices. Put differently, development was not possible without governance. This position was widely accepted in the development community and it has shifted the focus of aid towards achieving preconditions for aid effectiveness from achieving aid objectives such as poverty alleviation.

Despite broader support for good governance, and its relation to development, there are concerns and apprehensions about how recipient countries can adopt and implement good governance. Good governance is a process of decision-making through various institutions of government and civil society. One of the tools of good governance is a process of inclusive decision-making that can promote transparency and curb corruption. In order to work, good governance requires strong and independent institutions. These are exactly what most of the recipient countries do not have. Building such institutions is a long process, and a top-down approach can only do so much without domestic goodwill and understanding. Good governance, therefore, needs to be nurtured from within. In the area of development, both the governments of the recipient countries and civil society are important for advancing the agenda of good governance. While governments need to reform their institutions, civil society can ensure an inclusive and participatory development process.

With the understanding that aid effectiveness is through good governance, we can investigate how governance can work in countries like Pakistan. Pakistan has been a major recipient of ODA and other loans for development from the early years of its independence and, as mentioned, by 2011 it was the fourth largest recipient of ODA. Despite showing positive signs of growth, Pakistan has achieved little in terms of human and social development. Its socio-political structure has been seen to hinder its growth, economic independence and the strength of its institutions. Corruption in all forms and all walks of life is rampant. Institutions are often subjected to political pressures and interventions. Pakistan

may have a democratically elected government, but the military and the elite have ruled it most of the time. It has weak institutions with minimal spending on development. Without addressing the cause of its weak institutions, namely its socio-political structure, it is a challenge to implement governance and improve aid effectiveness.

This study has endeavoured to understand the perceptions of the people of Pakistan regarding foreign aid projects and governance issues related to those projects, by attempting to understand a specific group's perception of a specific foreign aid project. With this background, this study has chosen the Educational Sector Reform Assistance (ESRA) as an example of foreign aid in Pakistan. The ESRA project was funded by USAID through a public-private partnership consortium and ran from January 2003 to September 2007 across Pakistan. Its primary focus was the training and professional development of primary school teachers (Healey, 2008). The project will be discussed in detail next, in the Methodology section.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This study has used the qualitative descriptive approach as the methodology, from the perspective of the Postpositivism. This paradigm, from the epistemological standpoint, assumes that reality exists independently outside the human mind, i.e. reality is not a product of human thoughts, and it can be comprehended through sensory experiences (Crotty, 1998; Giddings & Grant, 2002). Multiple views of reality are possible depending on one's social, cultural, and political background. The reality, therefore, from a postpositive viewpoint, is socially and culturally constructed; through a process of verification, it can be generalised (Giddings & Grant, 2007). It acknowledges that the people of countries in receipt of development assistance see governance and management issues in development aid projects according to their social, cultural, and political settings. Thus, in Pakistan, one of the major development assistance recipient countries in the developing world (U.S. Department of State, 2012), people perceive governance and management issues in development aid projects in light of their social, cultural, and political background.

A qualitative descriptive methodology is an ideal approach for exploratory research such as this. It aspires to collect data about a phenomenon on which sufficient information is not available, and (when) a straightforward description of that event is required (Sandelowski, 2000; Smythe, 2012). In other words, the aim of a descriptive study is to provide a summary of a particular phenomenon in simple terms as respondents of a study experience it (Lambert, & Lambert, 2010).). This case study provides a descriptive account of the perception of a selected group of primary school teachers from Pakistan towards the governance and management issues of development aid projects. The study has used the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) criteria for governance (see page 28-29), which, with some variations, is used to a great extent in literature to define the concept of governance

(Edgar, 2006). The criteria encompass eight principles (United Nations Development

Programme, n.d.):

- informed and organised participation of every member of the society in decision-making
- rule of law
- transparency
- responsiveness
- consensus oriented
- equity and inclusiveness
- effectiveness and efficiency
- accountability.

Any findings will need to be tested in more evidence-based research. This study will

produce data that could be used for further study, and for use in policy planning around

governance and management issues of development aid projects in Pakistan.

Ethics Application

As per the requirement of the Auckland University of Technology (AUT), I had to

obtain approval from the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC)

before the start of the research, including contacting and interviewing the participants.

I applied for AUTEC by using the official EA1 Form. My application was considered

and subsequently approved by AUTEC in its meeting, held on February 13, 2012 (see

Appendix A). The approval was conditional to a satisfactory response to the observations of

the committee in the following areas:

- conflict of interest
- recruitment process of key informants
- data collection
- privacy and confidentiality
- minimisation of risk

Conflict of Interest. AUTEC asked me to clarify my role as the researcher concerning the training organisation i.e. United Education Initiative (UEI), which trained primary school teachers under Education Sector Reform Assistance (ESRA) programme of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). I responded that I never had any association with these organisations.

AUTEC expressed its concern that the informants might be asked to comment on USAID. I clarified that the key informants were not the direct recipients of any financial aid. Moreover, I would (and did) not ask any question concerning the funding agency as my research had no intention of gathering information about financial aspects of the training project.

Recruitment process of key informants. In my proposal, I stated that key informants would be recruited by referral from one of the UEI training organisations. AUTEC was of the view that this would be inappropriate and other methods of obtaining a pool of potential informants, who the researcher could contact, would be more suitable. Based on this feedback. I changed my recruitment strategy and obtained a pool of potential informants who I invited to join the project.

Data Collection. AUTEC asked to clarify where and how the interviews would take place. In my response, I clarified about the probable locations to be used, and that the interviews would be conducted over the internet. I made it clear that I would personally audio record the interviews and there would be no video recording. I also clarified that the support person would stay outside the room to provide technical and administrative support if it was required during the interview.

Privacy and confidentiality. AUTEC raised the question of privacy and confidentiality about the support person; training organisations; online technologies for interviews; and video recording.

In my response, I specified the tasks the support person would carry out. These included: organising the venue for the interview, setting up of the internet connection, and providing any technical assistance if required during the interview. I made it clear that the support person would not be present during the interview and would not be involved in any other aspect of the research. Furthermore, the support person would be someone who never had any association in any capacity with any UEI training organisations.

I also clarified the training organisations would only provide a pool of potential participants and would not be involved in any other aspect of the research.

AUTEC expressed concerned about using the internet technologies i.e. Skype and video recording of interviews. I clarified that interviews would not be video recorded. On the question of using the internet technologies .i.e. Skype, I clarified that Skype provided the same interactive opportunities as the telephone with minimal cost.

AUTEC showed concerned about sensitivities relating to the topic of financial aid. In my response, I clarified that the research was not about the financial aid. The objective of the study was to develop insights about how people in recipient countries understand the concept of governance and management in development aid projects.

Minimisation of Risk. AUTEC also asked about the provision of the researcher safety protocol. I explained in detail that since the support person and I were from Pakistan, I understand local sensitivities and potential risks. The interviews would take place in Pakistan over the internet and I would be at my house in Australia. There was no perceived harm or danger to the safety of the researcher or the support person.

I made appropriate changes in the Information Sheet and Consent Form as required by AUTEC. I also updated the Confidentiality Agreement with the support person.

 AUTEC found my responses satisfactory and approved my Ethics Application on April 03, 2012 (see Appendix B).

Research Design

The qualitative descriptive approach focuses on describing the phenomenon itself without pre-selection or manipulation of variables (Lambert, & Lambert, 2010; Sandelowski, 2010). This study has no presuppositions and is not intended to prove or falsify any axiom. Rather, it will provide a plain descriptive account of the perceptions of schoolteachers from Pakistan about governance and management issues in development aid projects.

The research design of this study was non-emergent. The sequence of events was:

- gathering all the data,
- analysing that data, and
- reporting the findings in straight descriptive form.

The course of the research did not change at any stage of the research, and no further data were collected to support any emerging hypotheses during the data analysis.

Participants

The study has used purposive sampling to select participants. This sampling method helps to select participants who are likely to provide the researcher with specific information (Lambert, & Lambert, 2010; Sandelowski, 2010). The participants were selected from a group of schoolteachers who were trained under the Educational Sector Reform Assistance (ESRA) programme in the Hyderabad District, in the Sindh province of Pakistan.

The ESRA programme was a USAID-funded project. It supported the Government of Pakistan (GOP) initiative to reform the education sector from January 2003 to September 2007 (Healey, 2008). Training and professional development of primary school teachers was one of the main focus areas of the programme (Research Triangle Institute International, 2008).

In Sindh, the ESRA programme initiated a Professional Development Programme (PDP) to train primary school teachers with the help of Agha Khan University - Institute for

Educational Development (AKU-IED) and the United Education Initiative (UEI) (Akhlaq,

2008). UEI, a consortium of five organisations from both government and the private sector,

was responsible for implementing PDP in four districts of Sindh, i.e., Hyderabad, Khairpur,

Sukkur and Thatta (Goderya-Shaikh, Madden, & Saad, 2006). In order to keep the study

manageable, the selection of the participants was confined to the schoolteachers trained by

UEI in the Hyderabad district, where it trained 2,200 male and 1,760 female teachers (Bhatti

& Munshi, 2008).

In order to implement PDP, ESRA adopted a cascade model that required its partners

to train mentors and master trainers who, after training, could themselves train teachers at

assigned cluster schools (Research Triangle Institute International, 2008). UEI trained 130

master trainers selected from the District Education Office of Pakistan to train 17,000

primary school teachers, over a period of two years (Goderya-Shaikh et al., 2006). Master

trainers were required to conduct a 300-hour training programme for teachers at the District

Cluster Schools. The training programme had two components. The first component was

aimed to help schoolteachers improve their classroom management skills and to develop low-

cost classroom resource material. The second component was about improving the

knowledge of school teachers in basic subjects such as science, mathematics, language and

social studies (Research Triangle Institute International, 2008). The 300-hour training

programme was broken down into three phases: two weeks of workshops, followed by four

weeks of fieldwork, then another two weeks of training workshops (Bhatti & Munshi, 2008;

Goderya-Shaikh et al., 2006). PDP initially also had a ten-week follow-up phase in which

master trainers and mentors were required to provide classroom support. This phase was not

fully implemented, due to geographical difficulties and budgetary constraints (Research

Triangle Institute International, 2008).

It is important to clarify here that this study does not aim to evaluate the ESRA programme, but to use it as a reference point for selecting participants. Therefore, it does not look into the specific issues related to management and implementation of the ESRA programme.

This study assumed that the selected schoolteachers were likely to have some understanding of governance and management issues in international development aid projects. They spent a prolonged period of time in training, and that presumably gave them a reasonable exposure to the working mechanisms of international aid projects. Second, being schoolteachers, they were likely to have a better chance of understanding issues like governance and management in development aid than any layperson in Pakistan.

Nine schoolteachers trained under the ESRA programme were selected from the Hyderabad District of Sindh. This selection was based on a referral from one of the members of the UEI consortium institutions. The sample was composed of both males and females aged between 35 to 60 years of age, with a teaching experience of 3 to 30 years. This was to help acquire a non-homogenous and a comprehensive view on the subject of the study.

The only inclusion criterion was that the participants must have completed the 300-hour training programme. This is to ensure that the selected participants spent a prolonged period of time with the project.

Under the exclusion criteria, people who had directly worked for the UEI, ESRA, and USAID were excluded, as they might have a conflict of interest. Participants who could not provide an informed consent to participate in the study were also excluded.

Participants were contacted by phone, email, and personal contacts. Once a verbal consent was obtained, a sample based on gender, age, and teaching experience was developed. From this sample, the final nine participants were selected.

Data Collection

Data collection was based on semi-structured, in-depth interviews with the participants. The semi-structured interview technique is considered best when using a qualitative descriptive approach to collect broader information about the subject of study (Neergaard, Olesen, Andersen, & Sondergaard, 2009; Lambert, & Lambert, 2010; Sandelowski, 2000).

The purpose and objectives of the study were explained to the participants in detail, to make sure there was no misunderstanding about the research. The questions were aimed at getting the views of the participants on governance and management issues in international development aid projects.

The interview guide was developed in light of the literature review on governance and management issues in development aid projects, with reference to Pakistan. It was reviewed with study supervisors to ensure that it was congruent with the objectives of the study (see Appendix C).

The interviews with eight participants were conducted in person. One participant was interviewed over the internet/telephone.

The participants were encouraged to speak at length and it took 10 to 20 minutes to conduct each interview. All the interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed with the consent of the participants. The transcripts of the interviews were sent to the participants so that they could check their accuracy. The participants were allowed to change or remove any of their comments. Only one participant requested the removal of some of his comments and that was done.

In order to maintain confidentiality and the privacy of the participants, no references to their identity has been made in the research. Furthermore, any reference to identifiable persons in the transcript of interviews has been removed.

As this is a non-emergent study, and no follow-up was needed to clarify any statements, no further interviews were conducted.

Data Analysis

This study used a qualitative content analysis approach for data analysis. This approach is considered to be an analysis stratagem of choice for qualitative descriptive methodology (Sandelowski, 2000). The study followed conventional content analysis strategy (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Transcribed interviews were read several times and then similar phrases, patterns, and themes were identified and organised into categories. The outcome of the data analysis was summed up in a straight descriptive summary containing both the most- and least-common themes that emerged from the data.

Ensuring Rigour

In order to ensure rigour in this study, the four key categories outlined by Guba and Lincoln of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (as cited in Sandelowski, 1986) were followed.

A qualitative study can be considered credible when people recognise that the findings of the study correspond to their own experiences. Credibility in qualitative research can be achieved by following strategies such as prolonged engagement, member checking, peer examination, triangulation, and persistent observation (Sandelowski, 1986). To ensure the credibility of this study, a member check was performed through returning transcripts of interviews to participants so they could confirm that their views had been accurately documented. Sufficient time was spent on data collection and analysis. There was no prolonged engagement with participants. The literature review, observations, and continued discussions with the supervisors ensured adherence to the triangulation of the data. The credibility of the data collection instrument was important; this was one of my roles as the researcher.

Transferability of a study means that the findings may be applied or transferred to another situation. In qualitative research, this is achieved on a theoretical level. A participant in qualitative studies is considered representative of the group to which the participant belongs (Sandelowski, 1986). Variety in the sample was ensured through the diversification of participants, on the basis of age, gender, and their teaching experience. A detailed description of the sample has been provided in the next chapter so that the researchers who want to use this study in another situation can make a comparison.

Dependability or reliability points to the consistency of the testing procedure. In qualitative research, it can be achieved when the researcher leaves a clear decision trail. Any other reader and researcher can follow the progression of events (Sandelowski, 1986). In this study, dependability has been achieved through describing in detail the data collection and data analysis process. Data were collected and grouped into categories based on similar themes. Furthermore, a record of events in the form of memos was maintained, to establish a trail of decisions.

Confirmability refers to the neutrality of a researcher in quantitative research, but in qualitative research it is concerned with findings, rather than with either the subjective or objective stance of the researcher (Sandelowski, 1986). This study has produced a descriptive account of findings based on the data. Therefore, the subjective stance of the researcher has not affected the neutrality of the research.

Ethical Considerations

Voluntary participation and informed consent. Participants were selected on the basis of voluntary participation and informed consent. They were briefed about the study and a detailed information sheet, explaining the objectives and purpose of the study, was given (see Appendix D). They were also given sufficient time to deliberate and clarify any concerns they might have about the research. The next stage was to provide the consent form (see

Appendix E), again making sure that they were aware of the purpose of the study and were participating in the study voluntarily.

Anonymity and confidentiality. In order to maintain anonymity and confidentiality of the participants, an identification system was implemented and all the participants were assigned separate identification numbers. All information and all digital data, including files on a password-protected computer, were kept in a secure location. Any information that could identify the participants in any manner was removed from the study. The interviews and transcripts were kept at a secure location with the researcher. It will remain with the researcher for one year, and after the completion of the study it will be destroyed.

Minimisation of harm. Participants were not put in a situation that could cause any physical harm. Interviews were organised at a convenient location where participants were comfortable. The participants were given the liberty of withdrawing from the study at any stage, and, in that case, all the data that she/he had provided would be destroyed.

Respect towards social and cultural values of participants. All participants were Pakistani nationals and, being from Pakistan, I was completely aware of the local cultural, values and practices. I am fluent in both English and Urdu. Therefore I did not use a translator or interpreter at any stage of contact with the participants.

The Treaty of Waitangi. This research was not conducted in New Zealand and did not involve New Zealand Mā ori. However, the principals of partnership, participation, and protection were honoured throughout the study (Auckland University of Technology, 2014).

The partnership was established through the process of obtaining informed consent and consultation with the participants before the commencement of data collection. I explained and discussed the objectives, management, and implementation of the study to the participants. All the questions that the participants may have had about the study, including sampling, data collection, and data analysis method were answered. The outcome of the

research will be useful in planning and studies on governance issues in international aid projects. The outcome will not directly benefit participants or their social/cultural group. The thesis will be published and be available online.

The role of participants in the research was limited to providing their views on questions of governance and management in foreign aid projects. The participants, therefore, were not involved in any other aspect of the research. The participants are not stakeholders in this research, and, therefore, they do not have any formal role in it. The transcripts of the interviews were sent to the participants to check the accuracy of their views. The participants were allowed to change or remove any of their comments from the transcript.

In order to protect the participants from deceit, harm, and coercion, actions mentioned earlier under the Anonymity and Confidentiality section were implemented. Their names have not been mentioned in the research and any reference that might harm them has been removed. There was no issue of power imbalance in this research as the researcher and the participants did not have any social, economic, or political connection with each other. Participants were required to sign a consent form, and participation was voluntary. The study honoured the principle of protection by adhering to local cultural values and norms all the time. The researcher, being from Pakistan, was fully aware of cultural, religious, and social sensitivities.

Chapter 4: Findings

The findings of interviews are presented and discussed under the following sections:

1. ESRA training,
2. foreign development aid,
3. meaning of governance, and
4. governance and management in foreign development aid projects.

The aim is to examine the data to try to understand the participants' perceptions of foreign aid projects and governance and management in foreign aid projects. The last section will cross-examine all four parts and will present an integrated summary in connection with the literature.

In the first part of the section, I will briefly give the profile and characteristics of the participants. The remaining parts will be about the four themes that have emerged from the content analysis:

Profile of Participants

The profile of participants was considered under the following four key characteristics:

- teaching experience,
- qualifications,
- gender, and
- ethnicity/language.

All the participants were from Hyderabad City, Sindh and were aged from 35 to 60 years. Out of the nine participants who took part in this study, only one was female. Each participant had over 15 years of teaching experience and a postgraduate qualification. Six participants were from a Sindhi-speaking background and were teaching in Sindhi-speaking areas of the city. The remaining three participants spoke Urdu and were teaching in Urdu-speaking areas of the city (See Appendix F).

Section 1: ESRA Training

All the participants in this study attended ESRA training that was funded and implemented by USAID through its local partners. The participants, thus, had direct exposure to a foreign-funded project. Their responses regarding the implementation and execution of the training, help in understanding the issue of governance and management in foreign aid projects.

This section has been divided into three categories: Nomination, Training, and Post-Training Perception. The categories have been further divided into sub-categories (see Figure 2). The sub-categories will be explained before providing and discussing the data itself in each category. First, I will introduce the sub-categories with their objectives. Next, the actual quotes from the participants will be presented and then the category itself will be discussed.
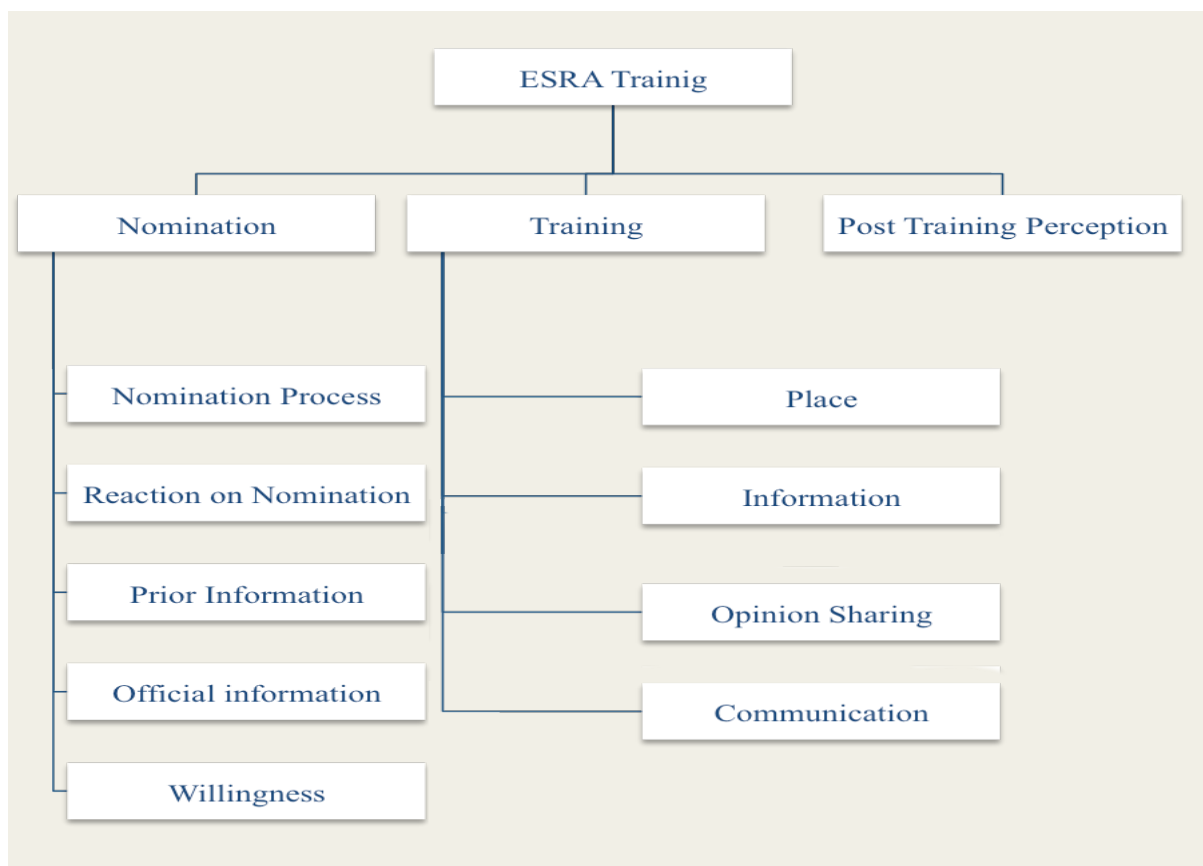

Figure 2. Categories and subcategories used to discuss the interview findings for Section 1 ESRA Training.

Category: Nomination. The nomination category covers the process of nomination or selection for ESRA training. The intention is to understand what measures are normally taken when selecting participants, what information is provided, and what is done to make participants stakeholders in a development aid project (Table 1).

Table 1

Nomination: Subcategories and their objectives

Subcategories	Explanation & Objective	Code
Nomination Process	To understand the nomination procedure	Letter/Selection/ Recommendation
Reaction	The perception about the training – a formality, a skill-building exercise, a waste of time.	Positive/Hesitant/ Negative/Indifferent
Prior information	At the time of nomination, did participants find out about ESRA through official or personal sources?	Yes - Official/Personal. No.
Official Information	Was there any information provided officially about the ESRA training? For instance, an information pack or an information session or any other way. Was there a chance to understand and be prepared for the training?	Yes/No
Willingness	Did he/she have an opportunity to express willingness to attend the training? Ownership of the project. A sense of being a partner or stakeholder. A feeling of alienation or indifference.	Yes/No

Nomination process. Training was compulsory and every schoolteacher was required to attend. All the participants in this study received nomination letters from their relevant education offices. Out of nine participants, six stated that they were nominated through a letter from the Education Department. Two participants described the nomination process in terms of selection:

"Some people were selected through interviews with trainees." (0074)

"My name was on the list. I mean good teachers who like to do [training] were

selected. Their names were sent [to education department for selection]." (0084)

Both of these participants belonged to the first groups of trainees, who were selected

and sent for training. It is possible that they had been informed about ESRA and had to go

through a selection or recommendation process. One participant said his superior

recommended him but he added there were no selection criteria, as everyone had to do the

training.

Reaction. The majority of the participants (Six out of nine) were positive about

nomination for the ESRA training. They saw it as an opportunity to learn something new that

would be beneficial to their professional development and for their students.

The following responses were typical of the majority:

"I will learn a new strategy that will be useful in the educational field." (0074)

"I thought of it as a refresher course and it should be good. I wanted to attend the

training to improve my teaching skills." (0082)

One participant said that because he had been through various training programmes in

the past, his reaction was neutral; he saw it as just another training programme that he had to

attend and that would not necessarily add anything new to his teaching skills.

"Actually I had already done a lot of trainings, so I took it [nomination] as normal. I

mean I had no special reaction. [I thought] it is new training just like other training

programmes that I attended in the past." (0078)

It is interesting to note that he had already been to other teacher training programmes

and it was just another training or a routine exercise for him. He was indifferent to outcomes

of ESRA training as he thought it would not necessarily add anything new to his teaching

skills or contribute towards his professional development.

Two participants did not see the significance of the training and considered it a waste of time due to the results of the training they had attended in the past.

"I was hesitant [to go] because I did not find any benefit out of the trainings that I did in past. So I was thinking it was going to be a waste of time." (0076)

"I did not want to go to training as all the [other] training had been fruitless." (0083)

Prior information. At the time of nomination, the majority of the participants – seven out of nine – did not know anything about ESRA or the ESRA training programme.

"[When I heard about] ESRA – I thought ISRA Hospital [Hyderabad] might have organised a training about AIDS." (0078)

One participant did have some information about ESRA training, as he was working at the school where ESRA training was organised. Another participant said he was informed officially.

"We had been told that there was a project called ESRA, that there would be an 18 weeks long training programme and that there would be a follow-up." (0074)

It seems from this participant's statements that he received some information officially.

Official information. All the participants but one stated that no official information was provided at the time of nomination. They had no idea what the training was about, what the training objectives were, why they needed to do it, or who was funding and organising it. Except for a letter informing them that they had been nominated for ESRA training, no other information was provided. There was no information pack or information session, or any other official way to get more information about the training.

"There was no information. It was not clear where the [training] was going to be held." (0076)

Willingness. The training was compulsory and the participants said they had been told that they had to go to the training. Two participants said they were given the option of going to the next round. Two participants said they were always interested in training and had already expressed their interest in training to their superiors. Four participants categorically said they were never given any chance to express their willingness to go to the training.

Conclusion: Category Nomination. The key objective of this category was to find out what measures were taken to make the participants into stakeholders, i.e. whether they were briefed about the project/training in advance; whether they were provided with adequate information about the training, such as its objectives, incentives and expectations; and whether they were given an opportunity to decide whether to take part in the training or not.

All the participants received a letter from the local Education Department, directing them to attend the training. Some of the participants said that they were nominated through a selection process. It may have been the case with some earlier participants that they were included in a discussion prior to training or that they had an option to attend. But with the group of participants that I surveyed, this did not happen. The training was compulsory after being nominated and all the participants had to attend.

The participants had been through various training programmes in the past and, because of this, they had preconceptions about training programmes in general. The majority of them thought previous training programs had been good and saw ESRA training as another opportunity for further personal and professional development. Two participants, on the other hand, did not find any use for the training programs in the past and because of that did not want to attend ESRA training.

There were only two participants who had some prior knowledge of the ESRA training program. All the participants confirmed that there was no information in the form of a brochure, information pack, or briefing when they received their nomination letters. Thus,

they were not aware of the objectives and outcomes of ESRA training at the time of nomination.

The fact that they were nominated by the Education Department showed that there were no efforts made to include the schoolteachers as stakeholders or to encourage them to take ownership of the ESRA training. The relationship between the participants and the ESRA training was not organic, and feelings of alienation and indifference can be seen from the responses. Those who wanted to attend the training thought it would be good for their personal and professional development, though they stayed indifferent to the objectives and expectations of the training as they did not considered themselves as stakeholders or part of the training program due to lack of consultation process. Those who did not want to attend had a strong opinion about teachers' training programmes due to the experiences they had had in past. The participants would have been in a better position to develop an opinion about the training had they been provided with relevant information, e.g. the purpose of the training, and how it would be different from previous training programmes. They would probably be willing to take ownership of the training program if they had perceived themselves as stakeholders and as a result of that the program could be more successful.

Category: Training. The training category covers experiences and perceptions of the participants in governance and management during the ESRA training. The objective here is to understand what measures were taken to make schoolteachers become stakeholders of the ESRA training. Under this category I will discuss the participants responses to subcategories as shown in the Table 2.

Table 2

Training: Subcategories and their objectives

Subcategories	Explanation & Objective	Code
Place	Where was the training arranged? Was it convenient?	Convenient
Information	Was there any information provided at the start of the training about ESRA and ESRA training?	Basic Information
Facilities	What sorts of facilities and training aids were provided? What did participants think?	Positive/Negative
Opinion Sharing	Did participants have a chance to share and express their views freely?	Yes/No
Communication	Was there any mechanism to resolve problems and issues?	Positive/ Neutral

Place. Training was arranged either at the same school or at another school close to the one where the participants were teaching. All the participants were happy with the training venue and found it convenient to reach.

Information. All the participants were in agreement that on the first day of training, mentors or master trainers provided a detailed outline of the training, how the training was going to progress, into how many phases the teaching had been divided, and the course outline.

"On the first day, a complete outline of the programme was provided." (0075)

"After reaching there, our teachers explained it well." (0076)

"They explained the benefits of the training. . . . You would learn new techniques that you would be able to implement in your class." (0084)

It appears that some basic information was also provided about ESRA itself, for instance, what ESRA stands for and its objectives.

"They explained the meaning of the word ESRA."(0078)

"First the objectives of ESRA were explained and what it stands for." (0082)

"They did not talk much about ESRA. Their focus was basically on the course outline and what needed to be done." (0083)

On the first day of training, participants received some information about ESRA and some more detailed information about the training itself.

Facilities. This sub-category explores the areas that the participants classify as the facility. They all mentioned refreshments (lunch and tea) as a facility.

Three participants talked about the room where the training was arranged. One participant was very happy with the room, while two others pointed out the areas they found uncomfortable.

"Venue was good, ventilation in the classroom was good and classrooms were white [whitewashed walls]." (0074)

"Room was good but the furniture was not comfortable. The benches were the same that children use." (0075)

"It was a good room, but a little bit congested. . . . It was a small room." (0078)

Four participants mentioned training material including stationery. Two participants said there were training materials, while two others said some or not enough training materials were provided.

"Training material was given but minor [not enough]." (0083)

"[Training material] some but not much, I mean, no books but some Photostats [copies] sometimes." (0084)

One participant also mentioned the class environment, saying that it was friendly and frank. A daily stipend was given to all the teachers during the training. All but one of the participants mentioned this stipend during this part or another part of the interview.

In summary, there was something for everyone in terms of facilities. In general, they found the facilities somewhat satisfactory.

Opinion sharing. Participants gave an overwhelmingly positive response when they were asked whether there were opportunities to share and express their opinions. For some, it was the first opportunity they had had to do so. The majority of them were very animated when they were responding to this question.

"It was the only training where we had a chance to share our opinions." (0075)

"In the last 26 years it was the first training when someone listened to us." (0076)

Communication. The aim of this sub-category was to find out whether there was a mechanism in place to resolve issues that the participants faced during training, such as an inability to attend the training or concerns about the training itself. Only one participant said there was no particular resource person assigned to discuss any issues they may have had.

"No, there was no resource person we could talk to about what was happening. There was only a mentor and everything was up to that mentor. No particular person was there." (0083)

All other participants identified the mentor or master trainer as the contact person or point of contact to discuss training-related and personal issues like getting a day off.

"Actually, at one time I had a problem and madam was really cooperative. I needed a day off and she cooperated." (0078)

"Mentor was cooperative. If someone had a problem, he always cooperated." (0082)

The participants were happy with the level of cooperation they received from their mentors. Only one participant said otherwise.

"Out of the two trainers, one was cooperative while the other one was not that cooperative." (0084)

Conclusion: Category Nomination. The main focus of this category was to see whether the participants had received any information about ESRA and its training. Did they have a chance to share and express their opinions, and what mechanisms were in place to communicate problems and issues?

Participants responded positively. They seemed happy with the way the training was conducted. They received some basic information about ESRA and its training on the first day. They were encouraged to take part in class discussions and express their opinions freely. There was, however, no clearly identified mechanism to communicate problems and concerns, such as having a resource person available.

There is a striking contrast between the nomination and training phase. During the nomination phase, the participants did not receive any information about the training and were just told to attend. The local Education Department handled this phase and the training providers did not have direct access to teachers. There appears to have been a division of power whereby the Education Department was responsible for organising training groups and followed its bureaucratic machinery to achieve its target. The bureaucracy, which was less democratic and less inclined to build consensus and ownership, often just issued directives without explaining the nature of the ESRA programme or providing detailed information. It may have been done this way due to time constraints, lack of clear directives, and lack of necessary resources as the Education Department had the mighty task of sending all the schoolteachers in all the districts for training in a given period of time. It is not within the scope of this study to examine this issue further or to find the exact reasons and decision-making processes on these issues.

Training providers, on the other hand, were responsible for training delivery. In most cases, they were working with a group of 30 schoolteachers in a relatively relaxed

environment. They had time and resources to provide information and encourage discussion and opinion sharing. As a result of this, the participants seemed to be more satisfied and positive about the training phase than the nomination phase of the programme.

Category: Post-training perception. This category is about understanding the overall perception of the participants in regard to ESRA and its training. An attempt is made to understand the participants' expectations and their assessment of the training after having done it. Did they find it beneficial in terms of professional and personal development? Did anything change in terms of perception towards aid projects/training programmes?
The responses from the participants were overwhelmingly positive: Six out of nine described the training as positive. They were satisfied about the training, i.e. how it was delivered and how it contributed towards their professional development.

Two participants noted how this training was different, with one participant noting how it was the first mixed-gender training he had ever attended.

"It was the first training of my life that was co-education and frank." (0074)

"It was a different training. . . . It was activity based." (0075)

Two participants pointed out that training was helpful as it helped them in their personal development. It helped them to overcome their insecurities and gave them the confidence to speak in public.

"Before this training, I used to hide, I had hesitations, and I could not talk. The training gave me confidence. . . . That was biggest benefit that I got from the training." (0078)

"It was good. There should be more trainings like that as it helps teachers to overcome their insecurities and gives a chance to meet other teachers." (0081)

One participant found the teaching strategy he learnt during the training useful.

"After the training, I taught with the new method and there was improvement in the

children. There should be more training like this." (0082)

Two participants were cautiously positive in their responses, but pointed out that it

failed to change anything due to a lack of a follow-up and monitoring.

"At the start of the training, I thought this time things were going to be different. We

did the training wholeheartedly and were happy to see the follow-up visit. As the

follow-up visit ended, we also started doing what we used to do. It would be good if it

[follow-up visits] were continued for a bit longer." (0076)

"I learnt a lot, but there were no checks and balances during. . . . After completing

the training when we went back to school, there were no checks and balances." (0077)

One participant described the training as a total waste of time, as it failed to deliver

anything specifically to improve his teaching skills.

"I do not think teachers learnt anything particular that they could teach children. . . .

It was just a waste of time. . . . It was just teaching theory. In order to train a teacher,

a mentor should go to the class and observe how that teacher is teaching. . . . The

mentor should practically demonstrate to that teacher how to teach." (0083)

Conclusion: Category Post-training perception. Participants' responses can be

divided into three groups:

- positive,
- cautiously positive, and
- negative.

Participants in the positive group were overwhelmingly positive about the outcome of

the training. They found it a productive exercise for differing reasons. For instance, one

participant found it different because it was mixed-gender training and it was the first time he

had ever attended such training. He also found it very frank, as the environment was

conducive to opinion sharing. Other participants found that the training was a good opportunity for personal and professional development. Overall they were satisfied with the arrangement, conduct, and what they learnt during the ESRA training. They did not suggest anything they would like to be changed if they had to do a similar training in the future.

The participants, who were cautiously positive were satisfied with the arrangement and conduct of the training but not so convinced that the training had any long term benefits. They were of the view that it failed to deliver the long-lasting results due to the absence of an ongoing monitoring system after the end of training.

The participants observed that there was no post-training monitoring system to find out whether teachers were using the teaching methods that they learned during the training. In their view, training and capacity-building exercises such as ESRA could not produce long-term and long lasting results without ongoing monitoring. They seemed to be referring to a monitoring system like the one that the Education Department had, where monitoring teams visit schools and observe how teachers perform with their class. By stressing the need for a permanent system, the participants expressed a wish to see a more profound change in the system.

The one participant who was negative did not find the training useful at all, and called it a waste of time. It is noteworthy that he was not satisfied with any aspect of the training. This is perhaps due to the fact that he was sent to the training without his consent and without being provided with adequate information about the objectives of the training. This participant showed no ownership or connection with the training and, as a result, did not see the benefit of a foreign aid project. His view was that a better way to train teachers would have been for the mentor to go to the classroom to observe the teachers, to see how they performed. He believed in showing teachers how to teach. The participant was critical of the way aid projects were designed and implemented.

Conclusion of Section 1: ESRA Training

I have used the ESRA training as an example of a foreign aid project in Pakistan where surveyed participants had first-hand experience of the governance and management of the foreign aid projects and formed opinions based on their experiences before, during, or after the programme. Their responses indicate that they were provided with very basic information about the ESRA programme. As a consequence of this, the participants had differing perceptions, understandings, and expectations from the training. For instance, one participant of the training had thought that, this time, something was going to be different. He was disappointed when he saw that things were "business as usual" when he went back to teaching. He expressed a sense of a broken promise as he was expecting a change in the overall system.

Two main issues relating to governance emerged. The first concerned the flow of information. The participants were uninformed, having received no information about the training or the ESRA programme until they started the training. The second issue was related to obtaining consent from the participants. All the participants had over 15 years of teaching experience and had attended a number of teacher training programmes. It was a routine exercise for them and they had strong opinions about it. The majority of them thought it would be beneficial, as they might learn something new, or they could just have a break from regular teaching. Two participants did not see any value in it, felt alienated and did not consider themselves to be part of the programme or a stakeholder.

Participants either reverted back to old teaching methods or only occasionally used the teaching strategy that they learnt during the training due to an absence of monitoring. This indicates that what was learned in the training was not always being applied in class.

Consultation, communication, and consent were the main requirements to develop consensus. Without consensus, ownership of a project or programme was a difficult goal to achieve.

Section 2: Foreign Development Aid

Participants were asked about what their understanding of foreign aid was and how they perceived it. Questions included asking about its purpose, who would benefit, and why donors give aid.

The responses portrayed strong opinions about foreign aid and foreign aid projects. Their responses referred to their original view of foreign aid projects and the view that they developed after the ESRA training.

Two main views of the purpose of foreign aid were expressed. Three participants described it in terms of relief and humanitarian aid. These participants saw foreign aid as something that could deliver direct help and material benefits to people who are in need. The remaining participants talked about development and change. These participants saw foreign aid as a chance to improve the system.

On the question about who actually benefits from foreign aid, the responses were consistent: "Benefits basically trickle down from the top and sometimes people at the bottom receive little benefit or, most of the time, nothing at all."

The participants held consistent views on the question of why donors give aid. It was either with the intention of aid to change and improve the situation, or to provide relief to people in need.

Participants expressed positive and negative views. In the positive group of five participants, three were entirely positive about foreign aid. Two participants highlighted factors like corruption that could hinder foreign aid project objectives, while admitting the positive side of foreign aid.

"The aid that we get and for what we get, there is a need for that. They are not just

throwing money [away], they are giving aid so that there is some improvement, there

is some change, there is something positive happening."(0074)

"The way our country is facing problems, like ever- increasing poverty, in this

situation foreign aid is a good thing for the time being as it provides some relief to

people." (0082)

"When I did (the ESRA) training my perception was changed and I thought (foreign)

funding could be used to do good things." (0075)

"Foreign aid is coming but it is not getting through to people. . . . Maybe 10 to 20%

goes to people at the top." (0078)

Within the negative group, three participants said that due to aid distribution and the

implementation mechanism being corrupt, nothing was likely to change. Another participant

noted that no one knew when aid came and went so it was hard to see any positive impact

from any aid.

"About foreign aid, we think everyone will use it for his/her benefit and nothing will

ever get changed." (0076)

"You know what happens in Pakistan…when aid comes we feel delighted but if by any

chance it gets through to people it lacks objectives. For instance, how to train [the

teachers] and what development needs to be done in the [education] department."

(0077)

"The process of giving aid is not right. . . . Utilisation of aid is not proper and

because of that it becomes a part of corruption." (0083)

Conclusion: Foreign Development Aid

Apart from their differing responses, and the positive or negative undertone of these

responses, common ground about the purpose and benefits of foreign aid projects was evident

amongst the participants. They were in agreement that foreign aid had a role to play in development and improvements; it could provide some relief to people who were in need. Some of the participants noted corruption at a local level where initiatives either resulted in little success or were a complete failure. One participant pointed the finger towards the aid allocation mechanism, i.e. how donors allocated and distributed aid monies, and this, coupled with a lack of monitoring, encouraged corruption. Another participant touched on the issue of a lack of dissemination of information.

From the perspectives of governance and management, transparency and monitoring were the two areas that directly related to the allocation of aid and the flow of information. The absence of a mechanism to obtain information about allocation and distribution of aid monies made it very difficult for people in recipient countries to become stakeholders and take ownership of aid projects. They become alienated, and do not consider themselves a part of the process or as agents of change. They look to donors or local authorities to implement and monitor the projects for an extended period of time in order for those projects to achieve their objectives.

Some participants pointed out that without controlling corruption, or having a mechanism in place to monitor the implementation of an aid project, nothing was going to change. Foreign aid was not going to the people who need it most, due to widespread corruption. Corruption was a reality. One of the ways it existed in aid projects is the way, as one participant identified, that the donors allocate and disburse the monies. There is no evidence that concrete steps have ever been taken to provide information about the foreign aid projects, to the people of recipient countries, or to those who are going to be a part of an aid project. People never know when aid is coming and what purpose the aid is for. As a result of that, they never took ownership and rarely saw the results of those aid projects.

Section 3: Meaning of Governance

The participants were asked what they understand when they heard or read the word governance. The objective of the question was to find out how the participants perceive and define the term governance.

Seven out of the nine participants defined governance in terms of good governance, management, a system, and rule of law. The remaining two participants identified governance as a person or a system that can take care of and run things. In other words, it is the proper exercising of management (Table 3).

"Governance meaning someone who takes care and fulfils our needs." (0084)

Table 3

: Participants' perception of Governance

Respondent	Responses	Code
0074 0075 0076 0077 0078 0081 0084	Governance means management, a system, taking care of things, running a system properly.	Management & System
0082 0083	Governance means justice - having good rules and following those rules strictly.	Rule of Law

In general, the participants' responses were consistent with the situation in Pakistan. They seemed to use governance and government synonymously or interchangeably, i.e., they viewed governance as being how systems of government are run. This basically covered two key areas: corruption, and overall management of various government departments. Perhaps the reason for using governance and government synonymously was that both words sounded similar and, for a layperson, it was easy to take governance as a function of the government.

"Governance in terms of management does not exist here (Pakistan). In all sectors, governance is poor, from higher government level to lower level. Management and organisation should be good, but it is not here (in Pakistan)." (0076)

Only one participant mentioned the education department specifically.

"Sorry, governance! There is no good governance in Pakistan at all, in any department, particularly in the Education Department." (0077)

Three participants used the term good governance interchangeably.

"There is a lack of governance. The thing that is called 'good governance' does not exist here. There is too much to say. There are too many wrongs." (0074)

"Governance means to have good rules and follow those rules strictly for the betterment of human beings. And that is good governance." (0083)

The participants appeared to perceive governance and good governance as a system based on rules of law without corruption.

Seven participants defined governance in terms of management while two participants defined it in terms of rule of law.

"Governance I think is: arrangements or organisation or systems. Governance, as we say in English, is management." (0075)

"Governance means management. To take care of, run and oversee a system." (0078)

"Everyone should get justice and whatever he/she deserves. If there is governance, everyone will be happy and society will be good and that is the purpose of governance."(0082)

Conclusion: Meaning of Governance

The main objective of this theme was to provide insight into what participants understood by governance. They demonstrated a basic understanding of the principles of governance. From their responses, it was clear that they saw governance as a system or

practice that ensured rules of law were followed and corruption curbed. They appeared to have put the responsibility of implementing governance on government.

As discussed in the literature review section, Pakistan has been the victim of widespread corruption and weak institutions, yet has been regarded as one of the nations that has achieved respectable economic growth over the years. Failure to translate its growth into social development has created despair among its people. Participants of this study echoed that despair and identified issues such as corruption, which has led to an absence of good governance in institutions. They tend to equate governance with management, or how the system should be run. In other words, they see governance as a function of the government, and other institutions should perform their designated roles to ensure a corruption-free and just society.

Section 4: Governance and Management in Foreign Development Projects

This section is directly related to the research focus of this study i.e. what governance means to the recipient stakeholders. It has been divided into three categories:

1. Perception – The perceptions of the participants regarding governance and management in foreign development projects;
2. Changes – Changes in their perception after being part of a project like ESRA; and
3. Suggestions – How to improve governance and management.

Category 1: Perception. The objective of this category was to find out how the participants see, understand, define, and explain governance and management in foreign aid projects. In this section, a brief introduction to the trend that emerged in the data analysis will be provided, followed by examples from the responses, with analysis at the end.

The responses ranged across four areas and were coded accordingly, i.e. management, transparency, monitoring, and consultation. The interview questions related to their understanding, and definitions of governance and management in foreign aid projects. The

participants' responses reflected their experience with the Education Department and the

ESRA training. They talked about various problems they considered foreign aid projects had,

for example, mismanagement and a lack of transparency. Their responses covered different

areas from a comprehensive picture of the concepts of governance and management to how

they perceived foreign aid projects.

Some of the participants touched on two or more areas, while others stayed with one

area. The following response was concerned with management and transparency.

"I spent a lot of time on the internet. . . . I can see the differences in standard of

management. When there are [in aid projects] only Pakistanis in management,

donors just give money to Pakistanis (local authorities, politician, [those] higher up

in bureaucracy, and other influential people) who have the power to spend it, then

there is very little impact of aid." (0077)

This participant highlighted that due to corruption and incompetence, the standard of

management was not comparable with western countries. The participant perceived that

donors did not take on the responsibility of making the process more transparent. Instead,

they appeared to just hand out the monies and walk away. The undertone of his statement

demonstrated his frustration about not being part of the aid distribution and implementation

system as a recipient. He was also pointing out about the power structure of Pakistani society

and widespread corruption at the higher level of the power.

Two other participants described foreign aid projects in terms of management or in

combination with another area like monitoring and consultation. For instance, one response

touched on the issues of consultation and management.

"Within the Education Department (Sindh), the focus of all the training programmes

run by ESRA or USAID or Agha Khan is on the teachers and teaching. The actual

problem is a lack of supervision and management. There is so much

mismanagement. . . . Everything has been left to the teacher and he/she is responsible

for everything with a clear conscience. There should be checks and balances and that

is the part of management and supervision. There is a lack of management." (0074)

He pointed out that training under various initiatives like ESRA, funded by USAID,

was too focussed on the training of teachers. Very little or no attention was paid to the

training of supervisors/managers. His response showed that recipients did not share the vision,

objectives and focus of aid projects or that of the donors and because of that they did not feel

part of it. Nor were they inclined to take ownership of the projects. They were not included in

the decision-making process as they had not been consulted about what was needed. The

participant's statement also touched on the different power dynamics. Policy was often

planned and implemented by superiors, while recipients thought that policy makers did not

understand the real problem and were not skilled enough to do their job.

Another participant did a comparison between ESRA training and other projects.

"Governance within the ESRA programme was good. There were some people in

ESRA who were not part of education, but governance. Punctuality, maintenance, etc.

was good." (0075)

He observed that governance was equal to management and the organisational skills

of the people who were running an aid project. Therefore, an aid project was good if the

management and execution of the project was good and that, to him, was good governance.

Another participant highlighted monitoring and management as key components of

governance in foreign aid projects.

"In terms of schools… if there is honesty and daily visits, things would get better

automatically."(0078)

The participant was suggesting that donors should get involved in the implementation

of the projects themselves and should not leave the projects for locals to manage. He believed

that foreign aid projects required ongoing monitoring and an ongoing engagement with the recipients.

'Monitoring' and 'checks and balances' were terms that the participants used, particularly during this section of the interview. The participants did not really outline what monitoring meant to them or what sort of checks and balances they had in mind, nor did they specify clearly which person(s) they were expecting to do the monitoring. Two trends were picked up during the interviews in this section. Some participants sounded as though they thought it was the responsibility of donors to get involved in monitoring or to micromanage the projects, while the other participants just wanted better management and monitoring from managers or the Education Department. For instance, unlike the above response from Participant 0078, the following participant was referring to corruption but not asking about monitoring by the donors.

> *"Whatever aid is given, it should get through 100% to the people for whom it is given. This would be good governance, otherwise if someone in the middle is pocketing aid money then it is not good governance." (0082)*

This participant was very precise connecting it to his reply to the last question where he used governance in the sense of justice. He further extended his definition of governance to good governance by saying that foreign aid should be used 100% for the purpose it was given. The participant did not say it directly but his answer suggested that there was corruption in the disbursement and implementation of foreign aid.

This next participant, on the other hand, talked about corruption at a local level, indicating that people at the top or donors needed to take action.

> *"Everything should be perfect from top to bottom. If there is something wrong in the middle then it cannot be good governance. If [in aid projects] there is no output, we must find out where the problem is. When aid [money] is given to locals without any*

[mechanism of] checks and balances then there is no possibility of good governance."

(0082)

The participant pointed out that aid projects failed to achieve their objectives because of problems somewhere in the middle or at the bottom, i.e. middle and lower level local management. The problem he emphasised was corruption at the implementation level, leaving foreign aid monies with the local authorities without placing effective monitoring or checks and balances in place by the donors. His also highlighted the need for transparency for example justification for an aid project and funding details including distribution of funding and responsibilities.

A number of participants highlighted the issue of transparency and decision-making in the aid allocation and implementation process.

> *"In terms of governance, we never know what sort of foreign aid is coming, who is in charge of it or who is giving it out and to whom, or on what grounds they are giving it out, or what their objectives are. No one will tell us. They [foreign aid agencies] will never tell us what their objectives for the aid are and why they are giving this aid. So when we do not know anything, we cannot question them and we cannot tell them what is happening." (0076)*

The participant very clearly touched on the inter-relationships in decision-making, transparency and ownership of foreign aid projects in terms of governance and management. The participant expressed his frustration, alienation and apathy towards aid mechanisms and how aid was awarded and distributed without consulting people on the ground. In his view, aid projects failed to receive the response that was envisaged. Recipients did not take ownership due to an absence of proper communication between all stakeholders.

> *"[We] don't know how much they [local authorities] get and how much they actually spend. . . . [There should be transparency in aid?] Yes." (0081)*

The same participant expressed his doubts about the utilisation of aid monies, hinting that there should be a transparent system which shows how much aid monies were given, why, how and where it was going to be spent. He also talked about some promises that the mentors had made during the training, e.g. providing teaching aid materials. The mentor assured the teachers that teaching aid materials would be available in their schools after the training but this did not happen. This was an example of miscommunication and a sense of broken promise that ultimately contributed to the ineffectiveness of aid projects. He saw aid as an on-going support mechanism and had a certain expectation based on what the mentor had told him during the training. The training was only one component of the ESRA programme, and not every mentor received detailed information about the project. It seemed that, during the training, mentors had to face all sorts of questions and they answered them the best way they could. There was an indication of a lack of communication and an absence of a mechanism to provide clear and precise information in order to develop a sense of ownership for the project among the recipients.

One participant suggested that aid projects should be needs-based, and needs should be assessed with the consultation of the people on the ground.

"Foreign aid should be used properly and where it is needed." (0084)

Her response indicated a communication gap and lack of transparency that existed between participants and donors/policy makers. In her response, this participant mentioned basic necessities like the supply of fresh water that is clean. Foreign aid, for this participant, was a tool to solve basic problems. If the recipients were not aware and convinced about the vision and objectives of an aid project, they were not likely to see the benefit and significance of the project and consequently will not own it.

Category 2: Changes in perception change after the ESRA training. The objective of this category was to find out about any change in perception of foreign aid projects and

their governance and management after being a recipient of a foreign aid project. The

participants were asked whether the ESRA training changed their perception of foreign aid

projects. Their responses were a continuation of the earlier comments regarding their overall

experience of the ESRA training. Their responses could largely be divided into three even

groups (Table 4).

Table 4

Change in Perception after the ESRA training

Respondent	Responses	Code
0081	There is a positive perception change	Positive
0074 0084	Like all other trainings, the ESRA training was good opportunity for personal development and from this perspective it was a positive thing.	Positive & Personal Development
0075 0078 0082	There are may be some good foreign aid projects like ESRA in terms of management and governance.	Conditional
0076 0077 0083	The perception about foreign aid projects remains negative although there was a slight positive change during the ESRA training.	Remain Negative

In the first group, three participants found the training positive, in terms of personal

and professional development.

> *"There has been a change in terms of management, way of teaching, and way of*
>
> *supervision. However, implementation is the job of the management and the*
>
> *management here is loose. There was a change in the way of teaching." (0074)*

Participant acknowledged some changes after the ESRA training as he had changed

the way he taught. He added that in order to change it was necessary to have strong

management that could implement whatever needed to be changed. His reply indicated the

ESRA training had improved his teaching skills. He did not say anything specific as to

governance and management in aid projects, however, it was inferred that better governance and management in foreign aid project was dependent on better management.

Another response was positive.

"All the programmes were good and designed for betterment and improvement. It is up to us what we do about them." (0084)

This participant talked about individual professionalism and moral responsibility, saying that despite the fact that corruption existed, it was the responsibility of the individual to utilise and implement whatever he/she had learnt in the training.

She observed that a lot of people (schoolteachers) regarded training as an excuse to avoid work and to socialise. She argued it was an individual choice as to how seriously one took the training and whether what he/she had learnt was implemented. In other words, she switched the issue of governance and management towards recipients and gave it a moral dimension. She admitted corruption was widespread. Her responses had a positive and optimistic touch as she thought it was an individual responsibility to learn and use whatever was available to bring about a change.

Three participants found a change in their perception of foreign development aid after attending the training. Prior to the training, they had a negative view of foreign aid projects, but afterwards they softened their opinion. They found the ESRA training better in terms of governance and management, compared with other training they had previously attended.

"The ESRA project, in terms of governance, was very good." (0075)

Another participant used to have a negative view of foreign aid projects that changed after attending the ESRA training. He found the ESRA training very well managed.

"Yes, in the sense that they [authorities, people with power, people who are handling aid money] are not all alike. Sometimes they pocket aid monies and sometimes they utilise it." (0078)

This participant noted that authorities were not the same everywhere. His response highlighted that there were some cases where a tiny portion of the aid money was used (such as the ESRA training) but in most cases, it was misappropriated.

"I used to think that the Director of Education, Ministers, etc. pocketed the aid but when I attended the ESRA training; I saw it [aid] being used… that changed my perception." (0082)

This participant's reply reflected that his perception had changed from negative to cautiously positive.

The remaining group of three participants did not change their perception of foreign aid projects as a result of ESRA training.

"No, there is no change in my perception that there will be any change [due to aid projects]. Maybe if they [aid projects] are done properly." (0076)

The participant said his perception had not changed and that there would be no change in the education system or in the overall system due to foreign aid projects. He did not believe that foreign aid could help improve the situation.

"It is the same. . . . I would say it is rather negative now because of the way it [training] was conducted for example, time management." (0083)

The participant talked about the problems that teachers and the education system usually face due to political and bureaucratic decisions. He pointed out that the teachers were told to go to the training and leave their usual classes unattended while the students were about to go to their annual examinations. He said training hours were longer than normal working hours and it was hard for teachers to be attentive as they were not in the habit of working late. Moreover, the teachers had their prior commitments and they were required to finish all the training material in a very short time, which was seen as a negative thing. The ESRA training was compulsory for all schoolteachers, and it was to be done in a specific

timeframe. In order to do that, the authorities insisted on a time for training that was not suitable for all the teachers. This highlights the fact that foreign aid projects are often forced on the recipients without understanding their needs and problems. As a result, the participants could develop hostile feelings towards foreign aid and did not take ownership of those projects

Category 3: Suggestions to improve governance & management. The objectives of this category were to obtain direct input from participants on how they saw governance and the management of foreign aid projects being improved and how they interpreted governance and management, while suggesting practical measures to improve both. Consultation and monitoring were the two dominating areas that all the participants in one way or another shared. Some participants did not specifically mention governance and management, but talked about these in general, in terms of what they would like to see changed.

Most of the participants in one way or other highlighted the importance of consultation.

"First of all, no one asked the teachers about their problems prior to allocating foreign aid starting a training programme. . . . People at the top will do whatever they want to do. They never consider the problems people at the bottom face. Until foreign aid providers [international development agencies] come down to the lower levels and ask teachers what they want, nothing will ever change." (0076)

This participant touched on participation, decision-making, and ownership of foreign aid projects. He pointed out a lack of consultation and gave an example in which he was offered tables, but he needed a fresh water supply in the bathrooms. In this sort of situation, when recipients of foreign aid saw that money was being wasted on things they did not need immediately or could not see the worth of, they were not likely to take ownership of their project and, as a result, objectives of the aid were not likely to be achieved.

A participant pointed out about what had been missing in teacher trainings and what should have been included; he wanted to be consulted in these situations.

"My advice is there should be more focus on methodology [in trainings] and on introducing new strategies to us." (0074)

His response highlights the importance of consultation with recipients in the policy-planning process. If they are not satisfied with the objectives and methodologies of the project, they are not likely to feel connected and, consequently, that will jeopardise the chances of the project succeeding.

Another participant's response was in line with consultation. It covered the issue of ownership and democratic governance.

"Before the start of a training, teachers should be briefed about the training programme and its objectives. It should not be seen that if you do not do training, you will lose your job. Only those teachers who are interested should be sent for training. . . . You [donors and those high up in the Education Department] should talk to the people [teachers] at the lower level first. Only if the person is willing should he be sent to any training." (0076)

The participant expressed his frustration for being forced to attend ESRA training, highlighting a lack of ownership, decision-making, and participation. Besides pointing out the problems in communication, planning, distribution, and implementation of the aid projects, he mentioned how corruption within the system discouraged people.

The participants often used the term 'checks and balances' in a sense to check on individuals and control those individuals' powers rather than the government's powers. This check was referred to in terms of monitoring, e.g. whether aid monies are actually being used for the purpose granted, whether things actually happen, or whether a project was achieving its targets or objectives. The responses indicated a level of mistrust of their superiors and

local authorities; they appeared to consider these roles as the source of the problem. They

believed their superiors and local authorities were corrupt and incompetent. Five out of the

nine participants mentioned monitoring or 'checks and balances' as a solution.

"Improvement is not possible without checks and balances." (0077)

This participant observed that donors should monitor the utilisation and

implementation of aid at grassroots level.

"They [international donors] should visit the schools themselves." (0081)

The participant complained about disparity in different areas of the city, in terms of

facilities mixing up the existing education system with foreign aid projects. He suggested

ESRA should have a team (perhaps a team composed of representatives of the donors and

local authorities) to assess and fulfil the needs of schools, like fresh water supply.

"For governance, checks and balances are needed. Aid should get through in full to

its destination and be used for what it has been allocated for."(0082)

The participant said despite receiving aid, nothing had changed in Pakistan. For

proper utilisation of aid, a mechanism of check and balances, presumably by donors, was

needed.

 "There should be checks and balances; donors should be involved in the process.

They should come to and see what is happening, what the results are." (0083)

The participant emphasised that donors should be managing aid projects, and

selecting the right people to implement foreign aid projects, and that here should be 'checks

and balances' in place. By saying that they should themselves come to evaluate the results at

the lower level, this participant clearly saw checks and balances as something to be

monitored by donors.

While talking about consultation, another participant presented a practical solution for

monitoring.

"There should be selection criteria for all trainings ... and if everyone is required to

do training, measures should be put in place to make sure people do not abuse it. . . .

If someone does not want to do training, that person should not be forced. . . .

Financial benefits should be channelled through schools, which on the basis of

training performance in the classroom, gives teachers a bonus." (0084)

This participant thought that training or projects did not work if there were no selection criteria for its direct recipients. Moreover, financial benefits should not have been handed over; recipients should have received them after an assessment of their post-training performance. The participant was outlining a mechanism of monitoring or putting checks and balances in place, and delegating powers to local leadership: to a headmaster or a teachers' committee in schools. Apart from the workability of this participant's proposal, she was the only participant who offered something concrete, in terms of monitoring, that could be practised at a local level.

Two participants focused on the importance of having managers with the proper skills and experiences to implement foreign aid projects.

"In order to run a programme, skilled and experienced people should be selected for

the committees [who are] responsible for management of the aid projects." (0074)

This participant was saying that, without improving management, the success of aid projects was a difficult task to achieve. He mentioned widespread corruption as a primary cause of the selection of unskilled, inexperienced and incompetent managers and supervisors to run foreign aid projects. He talked about a selection process for managers, but did not specify who would be doing that.

"People who are in management, governance and supervision should be properly

trained to implement the programme and to do a proper follow-up." (0075)

When referring to the ESRA training, the participant pointed out that the follow-up after the training, to ascertain whether the teachers were applying what they had learnt, was inadequate. The participant appeared to have a regular monitoring system in mind, but it was not clear who had what roles. The participant did emphasise, however, that training in proper monitoring was required for managers and supervisors to do an effective job.

Conclusion: Findings

The aim of this study was to investigate the perception of recipient stakeholders towards the governance and management issues of development aid projects. In a broader sense, responses from the participants regarding governance and management in foreign aid projects could be divided into four areas:

- consultation

- management

- monitoring

- transparency

For the participants consultation was about taking on board the recipients from the start of the project, in other words, a grassroots approach to understanding what recipients need, and how they would like their needs to be addressed from the very start of a project. Management was about how a project was being implemented on a day-to-day basis. Transparency, on the other hand, was about the allocation of aid monies and resources to an aid project, with the books open for scrutiny. Monitoring was about observing progress during and after an aid project. Monitoring allowed for determining if the objectives of a project had been achieved or not.

The majority of the participants found the ESRA training satisfactory and described it as useful towards their personal and professional development. However, all of them observed the lack of consultation before the start of the training.

The other part of the investigation was about perception change in relation to foreign aid projects, after attending ESRA training. It was intended to find out participants' views about governance and management in foreign aid projects. Their responses, by and large, were in accordance with the mentioned four areas. These could be divided in three groups. The first group was more inclined to judge foreign aid projects in terms of personal development. In other words, they were of the view that all projects offered something and it was up to the individuals if they wanted to learn and use their training in the classroom. The second group found that ESRA was a well-executed and well-managed project that changed their previously negative perception about foreign aid projects. In other words, some projects were good and some were not, depending on how they were planned and executed. Participants in the third group did not find anything new and useful, and were of the view that ESRA was just another project that was forced onto them. They were critical from all perspectives in regard to consultation, transparency, management, and monitoring.

On the question of what they would suggest as improvements in governance and the management of foreign aid projects, participants overwhelmingly emphasised the need for an extended period of monitoring of the project after its conclusion. They believed that whatever was taught during the training got lost due to the absence of monitoring. Some participants highlighted the need for consultation during the planning stage. These participants also provided feedback on what projects may be required and the best way to execute and achieve the objectives of those projects.

Participants were of the view that foreign aid projects could play a positive role in developing and transforming Pakistani society. They thought that foreign aid projects could not deliver without addressing the four fundamental areas of management, transparency, consultation and monitoring. All four areas are related to the broader concept of governance.

Consultation was about increasing participation in decision-making processes. It was about making participants feel more like a stakeholder than a passive receiver. It is a grassroots approach, in contrast to the top-down approach that some participants clearly identified in their responses. Transparency was the process that minimised corruption and strengthened a sense of ownership. Management and monitoring, on the other hand, were about stronger institutions and a robust system.

The participants' responses to this study suggest that:

- Governance is a must for aid effectiveness.
- A top-down approach is not likely to ensure the success of any project as it creates a sense of alienation and being an outsider.
- In order to make aid work, it is necessary to have a sense of ownership among the recipients. This requires extensive consultation and taking stakeholders on board from the planning stage of a project.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

. The purpose of this study was to find out what people on the ground thought about foreign aid projects. Do they understand the meaning of governance? Do they perceive there to be a problem with governance in foreign aid projects? What is the definition of a successful project for them? Could anything be done to improve governance and make aid projects more effective and successful?

In the literature review, this study found that after 70 years, the idea of ODA is still evolving due to changing realities. Its objectives have changed from rebuilding war-ravaged Europe to fighting poverty, providing education, ensuring the health and investing in sustainability at the global level. Its means and tactics have changed as well. Economic development has remained the driving force through bilateral and institutional initiatives, yet there are now private organisations that are in allegiance to address issues such as health, education and the environment. Geopolitical considerations of the Cold War seem to have taken a back seat, but security, politics and the trade interests of nations still play a greater role in determining who will get what and when.

The findings of this study confirmed that participants understood the importance of foreign aid and that it could play a vital role in transforming the society and their lives. However, they noted that due to corruption and mismanagement, foreign aid was not as effective as it should be.

Aid effectiveness has always been a critical issue and it has become more complicated due to increasing diversity among donors and recipients, who often have different or overlapping objectives. Thus, aid harmonisation has been at the top of the agenda of the various conferences and meetings on aid effectiveness. Governance, on the other hand, has always been seen as a way to improve aid effectiveness in the development aid projects.

Various forums and institutions like the WB have been of the view that without governance, aid effectiveness is not possible.

The concept of governance is directly related to liberal democracies based on various factors of the market economy with independent institutions. It is an ideal that only a few nations have realised. It is, therefore, challenging for the majority of recipient countries due to, for example, their colonial heritage, political structure, and weak institutions. As discussed in the literature review section, governance cannot be forced and cannot be imposed from the outside. It must be nurtured from within and that requires educating people at the grassroots level so that they could see themselves as a stakeholder in the project and subsequently could take ownership of those projects.

The findings of this study confirmed alienation among the participants. They were all primary school teachers from Hyderabad, a city in Pakistan. They all had over fifteen years of teaching experience with relevant qualifications, and they had attended many teacher training programmes in the past, initiated by the local Education Department with help from international aid organisations. ESRA was another training programme that the participants were required to attend at the direction of the Education Department. There was no consultation at any level, and there was no attempt to make them feel like stakeholders at the start of the programme. In their responses, though they were satisfied with the training they received, they did not see themselves as partner or stakeholder of the ESRA project. They regarded ESRA training as another attempt by the government and USAID to change the education system, and they just had to follow the instructions. The aim of the ESRA training, however, was to train primary school teachers so that they could teach better, to improve the standard of primary education in Pakistan. In their responses, the participants appeared to understand that goal but did not seem to share that responsibility. For them, it was the responsibility of the government and the funding agency to develop and implement a

monitoring system to force teachers to make use of the training in the classroom. Thus, for them, the meaning of governance was to have a proper system and management with the rule of law.

Participants emphasised the need for consultation at the grassroots level before starting an aid project and then ongoing monitoring of that project. They highlighted the consultation process, which is a core element of governance, as the key to making foreign aid projects more of a success. They pointed out that teachers should be briefed about ESRA training, its objectives, and how it would work before the start of the training. In other words, they would like to see a grassroots or participatory development-based approach. It could not be determined that this would increase the chances of the success and sustainability of a project, but it appears that it may make recipients more responsible as stakeholders and owners of aid projects. It would certainly help to reduce feelings of alienation and being an outsider.

The success of any development project, in a broader sense, could be judged only from the perspective of the people on the ground. If they feel that something has changed, that their lives are better for it, and that they are part of the progress, then they are in the most qualified position to judge the effectiveness of aid.

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Appendices

Appendix A – AUTEC. Approval 21 February 2012

MEMORANDUM
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC)

To: Marilyn Waring
From: **Dr Rosemary Godbold** Executive Secretary, AUTEC
Date: 21 February 2012
Subject: Ethics Application Number 12/35 **Governance and management in International Aid Projects: A case study.**

Dear Marilyn

I am pleased to advise that the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) approved your ethics application at their meeting on 13 February 2012, subject to the following conditions:

1. Provision of the authorising signature in section A.9 of the application;

2. Clarification of the role of the student researcher in relation to the training organisations;

3. Clarification of the role of the training organisations in the recruitment of participants referred to in section D.4 of the application. AUTEC advises that it is inappropriate for the training organisations to refer individual members to participate and suggests that they provide a pool of potential participants that the researcher can contact. Other options are that the training organisations give information about the research and the researchers contact details to their members who can then make contact with the researcher if they wish to participate or the use of an advertisement;

4. Clarification of where and how the interviews will take place;

5. Provision of safeguards which will be used to ensure complete confidentiality of participants given the sensitivity of the topic of financial aid referred to in section C.3 of the application, and particularly when using online technologies for interviews;

6. Provision of a revised response to section E.4 reflecting on the ethical issues involved with asking participants to comment on their funders, particularly given the sensitivity of some of the interview questions;

7. Clarification of the role of the support person referred to in the section 'What will happen in this research' in relation to the research, in relation to the training organisation and how participant confidentiality will be maintained if they are present during interviews;

8. Provision of a researcher safety protocol;

9. Provision of a protocol for the use of video in the research including:

    a. Offering participants an alternative option if they prefer not to be videotaped;

    b. Offering participants an opportunity to review the video;

    c. Inclusion of the relevant points on the Consent Form which relate to the use of video in the research. These can be found on the Consent and Release Form included in the consent and assent form exemplars at the the Ethics Knowledge Base (http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics);

10. Amendment of the Information Sheet as follows:

    a. Inclusion of the researcher's name and information about AUT as a New Zealand university in the section entitled 'An invitation';

From the desk of …   Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1142   Tel: 64 9 921 9999
Dr Rosemary Godbold   New Zealand   ext 8860
Executive Secretary   E-mail: ethics@aut.ac.nz   Fax: 64 9 921 9902
AUTEC   page 1 of 2

      b.   Inclusion of advice to participants which reflects the responses to point 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8 above;

      c.   Use of the current contact details for the Executive Secretary as provided in the current exemplar in the Ethics Knowledge Base.

I request that you provide me with a written response to the points raised in these conditions at your earliest convenience, indicating either how you have satisfied these points or proposing an alternative approach. AUTEC also requires written evidence of any altered documents, such as Information Sheets, surveys etc. Once this response and its supporting written evidence has been received and confirmed as satisfying the Committee's points, you will be notified of the full approval of your ethics application.

When approval has been given subject to conditions, full approval is not effective until *all* the concerns expressed in the conditions have been met to the satisfaction of the Committee. Data collection may not commence until full approval has been confirmed. Should these conditions not be satisfactorily met within six months, your application may be closed and you will need to submit a new application should you wish to continue with this research project.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, we ask that you use the application number and study title in all written and verbal correspondence with us. Should you have any further enquiries regarding this matter, you are welcome to contact me by email at ethics@aut.ac.nz or by telephone on 921 9999 at extension 6902. Alternatively you may contact your AUTEC Faculty Representative (a list with contact details may be found in the Ethics Knowledge Base at http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics).

Yours sincerely

Dr Rosemary Godbold
Executive Secretary
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Saleem Sheikh saleemmsheikh@gmail.com; Karen Webster

From the desk of …	Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1142	Tel: 64 9 921 9999
Dr Rosemary Godbold	New Zealand	ext 8860
Executive Secretary	E-mail: ethics@aut.ac.nz	Fax: 64 9 921 9902
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Appendix B – AUTEC. Approval 3 April 2012

AUT
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TE WĀNANGA ARONUI O TAMAKI MAKAU RAU

M E M O R A N D U M
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC)

To: Marilyn Waring
From: **Dr Rosemary Godbold** Executive Secretary, AUTEC
Date: 3 April 2012
Subject: Ethics Application Number 12/35 **Governance and management in International Aid Projects: A case study.**

Dear Marilyn

Thank you for providing written evidence as requested. I am pleased to advise that it satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) at their meeting on 13 February 2012 and I have approved your ethics application. This delegated approval is made in accordance with section 5.3.2.3 of AUTEC's *Applying for Ethics Approval: Guidelines and Procedures* and is subject to endorsement at AUTEC's meeting on 30 April 2012.

Your ethics application is approved for a period of three years until 3 April 2015.

I advise that as part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTEC:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 3 April 2015;

- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 3 April 2015 or on completion of the project, whichever comes sooner;

It is a condition of approval that AUTEC is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTEC approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are reminded that, as applicant, you are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

Please note that AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to make the arrangements necessary to obtain this. Also, if your research is undertaken within a jurisdiction outside New Zealand, you will need to make the arrangements necessary to meet the legal and ethical requirements that apply within that jurisdiction.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, we ask that you use the application number and study title in all written and verbal correspondence with us. Should you have any further enquiries regarding this matter, you are welcome to contact me by email at ethics@aut.ac.nz or by telephone on 921 9999 at extension 6902. Alternatively you may contact your AUTEC Faculty Representative (a list with contact details may be found in the Ethics Knowledge Base at http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics).

On behalf of AUTEC and myself, I wish you success with your research and look forward to reading about it in your reports.

Yours sincerely

Dr Rosemary Godbold
Executive Secretary
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Saleem Sheikh saleemmsheikh@gmail.com, Karen Webster

From the desk of …   Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1142   Tel: 64 9 921 9999
Dr Rosemary Godbold   New Zealand   ext 8860
Executive Secretary   E-mail: ethics@aut.ac.nz   Fax: 64 9 921 9902
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Appendix C – Interview Guide.

Interview Guide

Section – 1   Process of Nomination

1.   How were you nominated for the teacher's training program run by

       UEI/ESRA?

2.   What was your reaction when you were nominated?

3.   What prior information about UEI/ESRA did you have at the time of

       nomination?

4.   What information about UEI/ESRA did you receive?

5.   Were you given any chance to share your opinion about UEI/ESRA?

Section -2   Training

6.   Where was the training arranged?

7.   What sorts of information did you receive when you started training?

8.   How many participants were in your group?

9.   Were both male and female participants in your group?

10.   What facilities were provided to you during the training period?

11.   What chances were you given during the training to share and contribute your

        opinions and thoughts about the training program?

12.   What was your experience of communication with the authorities regarding

        any problem that you faced during the training?

Section -3   Post Training Perception

13.   How would you like to describe your overall experience of the training

        program?

Section – 4   Governance and Management in Aid Projects

14. What come into your mind when you hear about the foreign aid funded programs?

15. What do you think when you hear the word governance?

16. How would you describe governance and management in foreign aid funded programs?

17. Do you feel any perception change towards foreign aid projects and governance and management in aid projects after completing training under ESRA?

18. How do you think governance can be improved in foreign aid funded projects?

Appendix D – Participant Information Sheet.

Participant Information Sheet

AUT

Date Information Sheet Produced: 26 April 2012

Project Title: **Governance and Management in International Aid Projects:** *A Case Study*

An Invitation
  I am an M.Phil degree student at Auckland University of Technology (AUT), New
  Zealand and this research is a part of my degree. The study is about the perception of
  people of aid recipient countries towards governance and management in international aid
  projects. You are invited to participate in the study. Your participation is completely
  voluntary and you can withdraw at any stage of the research.

What is the purpose of this research?
  The research intends to understand the perceptions of people of Pakistan regarding
  governance and management in international aid projects. The study will be useful in
  policy planning in future aid projects around governance and management in Pakistan.
  This research is for my M.Phil research thesis and will be published and available online.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?
  You have been invited to participate in this research, as United Education Initiative (UEI)
  has trained you under the Educational Sector Reform Assistance (ESRA) project in
  Nawabshah District of Sindh, Pakistan. A member institute of UEI has provided a list of
  potential participents for this study and you have been selected from that list. I have no
  relation and have never been part of any organisation that has provided you any training
  under ESRA program.

What will happen in this research?
  You will be asked to participate in a 30 to 45 minutes interview with the researcher. The
  interview will be about your perception regarding governance and management in the
  international aid projects. The interview will be conducted over the internet/telephone and
  will be digitally recorded in audio format. There will be no one inside the interview room
  during the interview.

What are the discomforts and risks?
  There is no physical or emotional discomfort or physical risk involved in this research.
  The length of the interview may cause some physical discomfort.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?
  Regular breaks will be taken during the interview to make sure you are comfortable with
  the pace of the interview.

What are the benefits?
  There are no immediate benefits to you by taking part in this study. Your insight about
  the issue may enable planners to better address the concerns of people about governance
  and management in international project.

How will my privacy be protected?
  Only the research team, comprising of the researcher and supervisors will have access to
  the recorded interviews and transcripts. The support person will not have access to

recorded interviews and transcripts. All the data will be kept in a secure location and will be password protected. Your true identity will never be disclosed in the research.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

Your time is the only cost in taking part in this study. Interviews will be conducted at the place of your choice. If you need to travel, the fare of the taxi will be reimbursed.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

You can inform the researcher about your decision to take part in the research within two weeks after receiving this information sheet. If you need, you can request further time to make your decision.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you decide to participate in this research, the researcher will explain to you the objectives and purpose of the research in detail and answer any questions that you may like to ask. You will be provided with a consent form that you will need to complete and return to the researcher. The researcher will contact you to schedule the interview.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

If you like, the findings of the research will be sent to you. A URL link for the thesis after examination will also be sent to you.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

If you have any concerns regarding the nature of this research these should be notified in the first instance to my Project Supervisors. My supervisor's names and contact details:
Marilyn Waring, Professor: Institute of Public Policy, Auckland University of Technology. Email: marilyn.waring@aut.ac.nz, Ph 64 9 921 9661, Fax 64 9 921 9706
Karen Webster, Dr.: karen.webster@xtra.co.nz. Ph 64 9 445 2268

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEC, Dr.Rosemary Godbold: Room WA505E, Level 5, WA Building, 55 Wellesley Street East, Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1010. Email: ethics@aut.ac.nz , Phone 64 9 921 9999 extn: 6902

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

My name and contact details.

Saleem Sheikh: Email: saleemmsheikh@gmail.com Ph 61 410075551

Project Supervisors Contact Details:

My supervisor's names and contact details:

Marilyn Waring, Professor: Institute of Public Policy, Auckland University of Technology. Email: marilyn.waring@aut.ac.nz, Ph 64 9 921 9661, Fax 64 9 921 9706
Karen Webster, Dr.: karen.webster@xtra.co.nz. Ph 64 9 445 2268

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on:

Date: 3 April 2012, AUTEC Reference number: 12/3

Appendix E – Consent Form

Consent Form

AUT
UNIVERSITY

Project Title: Governance and Management in International Aid Projects: *A Case Study*

Primary Supervisor*:*   Marilyn Waring

Second Supervisor: Karen Webster

Researcher: Saleem Sheikh

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 26 April 2012
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio recorded and transcribed.
- I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including recorded interviews and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.

	Yes	No
I agree to take part in this research		
I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research		

Participant' Signature : ……………………………….

Participant's Name: ……………………………………………..

Participant's Contact Details: ………………………………………………….
………………………………………………………………………………..

Date: ……………………

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on:

Date: 3 April 2012,   ***AUTEC Reference number: 12/35***

Appendix F – Profile of Participants

Profile of Participants

Respondent	Experience	Qualification	Gender	Ethnicity/Language
0074	20 years	Postgraduate	Male	Sindhi
0075	24 years	Postgraduate	Male	Sindhi
0076	26 years	Postgraduate	Male	Sindhi
0077	16 years	Postgraduate	Male	Sindhi
0078	30 years	Postgraduate	Male	Sindhi
0081	23 years	Postgraduate	Male	Sindhi
0082	19 years	Postgraduate	Male	Urdu
0083	20 years	Postgraduate	Male	Urdu
0084	20 years	Postgraduate	Female	Urdu